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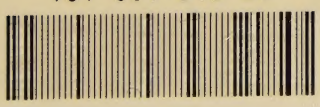

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SPAIN

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

SPANISH MYSTICISM:
A Preliminary Survey

A SPANISH POETRY BOOK:
For School and Home

SPAIN

A COMPANION TO SPANISH STUDIES

EDITED BY

E. ALLISON PEERS, M.A.

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY

1858–1923

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PREFACE

ONE of the most striking features of modern education, both in the British Isles and in the United States of America, is the revival of the study of Spanish in schools and universities.

The beginnings of Spanish studies in both countries date from an earlier period than is generally supposed. To consider the universities only, Trinity College, Dublin, can trace its Spanish teaching back to the eighteenth century, while the inaugural address of Antonio Alcalá Galiano as Professor of Spanish in the University of London is dated November 15, 1828. The famous Smith Professorship at Harvard, held successively by George Ticknor, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and James Russell Lowell, and for the last twenty-two years by the distinguished Hispanist J. D. M. Ford, was founded in 1816. Ten years later, Spanish studies began at Yale, and in 1830 at Columbia and what is now the University of Princeton.

But, although for so long Spanish has been taught, and taught efficiently,—more assiduously in the United States than in Britain—it is only in the present century, and especially since the Great War, that it has come to take anything approaching an adequate place in our curricula. A writer in the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* (the existence and success of which alone testify to the firm hold which the language has taken) estimates that whereas in 1915 there were not more than 35,000 students of Spanish in American secondary schools, the figures for 1922 were approximately 263,000. The American Association of Teachers of Spanish numbers over fifteen hundred active members. The Hispanic Society of America has by constitution a strictly limited membership; but its extensive library and museum, and its long and varied list of publications, have been of increasing and incalculable value in promoting a scholarly interest in Hispanic studies.

Britain, while sorely in need of benefactors who will put her Spanish teaching and research on a firm financial basis, has not been behindhand in her efforts to establish either. The first modern endowed Chair of Spanish in the country was that founded

by Captain Gilmour at the University of Liverpool, and held by Professor James Fitzmaurice-Kelly from 1909 to 1916, in which year he was elected to the newly-founded Cervantes Chair at King's College, London. Other universities followed suit in creating Chairs of Spanish, while the University of Liverpool has also been enabled to establish an extra-mural Summer School of Spanish at Santander. With very few exceptions, every university in the British Isles has now some form of Spanish teaching, and a few more judicious endowments would do much to broaden this teaching as well as to strengthen it numerically.

One of the most hopeful features of the revival of Spanish studies has been the appointment to responsible posts, both in schools and universities, of English-speaking teachers with high qualifications in their subject. While one cannot be too grateful for the distinguished Spaniards who in the past have spared no effort to give the necessary impetus to the revival, it is generally recognized that the future of Spanish studies will only be assured by the creation of a strong body of teachers whose mother tongue is the same as that of their pupils and who can consequently appreciate the difficulties with which these pupils have to contend, both in the elementary stages of learning the Spanish language and in the more formidable task of assimilating Spanish ideas and Spanish culture.

The present book is entirely the work of British scholars, specialists in the subjects of which they write, and it is dedicated, as a token of their deep respect for the pioneer of modern Spanish scholarship in their own country, to the memory of James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Its aim is primarily to be a ' companion to Spanish studies ', to do something towards the broadening of those studies by providing all who pursue them with a fund of information which is necessary as a background to their reading, yet the whole of which is contained in no other single volume. It is hoped that the book will find its way to the table of every such student, and remain there as a constant source of assistance, until its contents become, as they should, a part of the equipment of his knowledge. As a reference book it hopes to be useful also to a far wider circle of readers, and, above all, it is ambitious to serve the intelligent traveller in Spain, who is not content with rushing through the country in a tourist car, but has time and inclination to read thoughtfully, and travel slowly, in what is perhaps the most difficult country in Europe to understand.

In planning the volume, due regard has been had to the requirements of the traveller and the general reader, and more space has been allotted to the last century (especially in the

chapter on music) than would have been done in a book of the size planned solely for schools and colleges. Nor will the academic student suffer from this orientation, for trustworthy books on modern Spain are few, while on past ages there are standard works in comparative abundance. It should be clearly stated that for the views expressed by any one contributor neither the Editor nor any other contributor is responsible, although the writers of various chapters have maintained close connection with each other, and as far as is possible uniformity has been attained in matters of detail.

That the publication of this volume may stimulate as well as assist the study of the Spanish language and civilization—a study both culturally and commercially of such importance—is the hope of the Editor and of all who have contributed to it.

E. ALLISON PEERS

THE UNIVERSITY,
LIVERPOOL,
July, 1929

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The list of books recommended at the end of each chapter for further reading in connection with it has been compiled by the writer of the chapter and revised and co-ordinated with the other lists by the Editor. It is to be regarded as suggestive only, has been strictly compressed in compilation, and should be supplemented for serious reading by reference to bibliographical works where such are recommended, and also to the *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa) and *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The section entitled ' General Survey ' of the article ' Spain ' in this last-named work will be found to contain much useful geographical and statistical information which it has not been thought suitable to include in this book. From *Spanish Art* (No. 127, p. 209) the reader will be able to draw much bibliographical and other material on such subjects as ceramics, metal-work, glass and furniture with which we have also been unable to deal in a volume of restricted size.

The following selected list of journals dealing wholly or mainly with Spanish studies will often be found useful for reference. The place of publication of each journal is given in brackets :

Boletín de la Real Academia Española (Madrid) ; *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid) ; *Arte Español* (Madrid) ; *Cultura española* (Madrid) ; *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (Madrid) ; *Revista de Filología Española* (Madrid : see note on this review, p. 183) ; *Revista de Occidente* (Madrid) ; *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo* (Santander) ; *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (Barcelona) ; *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* (Barcelona) ; *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Barcelona) ; *Revue Hispanique* (Paris and New York) ; *Bulletin Hispanique* (Bordeaux) ; *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* (Liverpool University) ; *Iberica* (Hamburg) ; *Hispania* (Stanford University, California, U.S.A.) ; *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* (New York and Porto Rico University). A very large number of learned periodicals publish occasional articles on Spanish subjects : such are the *Modern Language Review* (Cambridge, England), *Modern Philology* (Chicago) and the *Romanic Review* (New York).

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	x
I	SPAIN: THE COUNTRY, ITS PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES By WILLIAM ATKINSON, M.A., Lecturer in Spanish at Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (University of Durham).	1
II	SPANISH HISTORY TO 1492 By the Rev. H. J. CHAYTOR, M.A., Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.	29
III	SPANISH HISTORY, 1492 TO 1898 By the EDITOR.	59
IV	SPANISH LITERATURE TO 1681 By WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE, M.A., Professor of Spanish in the University of Glasgow.	88
V	SPANISH LITERATURE SINCE 1681 By the EDITOR.	155
VI	SPANISH PAINTING By S. C. KAINES SMITH, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., Keeper of the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery.	186
VII	SPANISH ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE By MARTIN S. BRIGGS, F.R.I.B.A.	210
VIII	MODERN SPANISH MUSIC By SYDNEY GREW.	234
IX	SPAIN SINCE 1898 By AUBREY F. G. BELL.	251
	BIBLIOGRAPHIES:	
	To Chapter I (1–21)	28
	To Chapter II (22–44)	57
	To Chapter III (45–67)	86
	To Chapters IV and V (68–126)	183
	To Chapter VI (127–145)	209
	To Chapter VII (146–186)	231
	To Chapter IX (187–229)	279
	INDEX	281

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SPAIN

CHAPTER I[1]

SPAIN: THE COUNTRY, ITS PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES

TO the rest of Europe the Spaniard has ever been a man apart, one whose outlook on life refuses to conform to accepted criteria of logical behaviour, whose scale of values seems curiously remote from a modern age. He has been styled the supreme romantic and his country labelled vaguely as picturesque, tacit admissions of a complexity rare in the evolution of peoples. There is humour in the fact that nowhere has purity of descent (*sangre limpia*) been more vaunted than in a land where even the noblest dared not, in the Golden Age, trace his ancestry too far. For the peninsula has been the scene of many an invasion, now European, now Asiatic, now African, of which the shortest is reckoned by centuries, and all have left their trace.

To-day there is a sufficient semblance of unity to be misleading. We speak of Spain, the Spanish people and the Spanish language in the belief that we deal with clear-cut, definitive concepts. But Spain was plural to the Romans, and its multiple aspects still submit ill to formulæ. Over its history the spirit of contradiction and contrast has long been a presiding genius. We think of a European State, and remember an African occupation of eight centuries; of 'Sunny Spain', to recollect a winter sports season of many months and regions of perpetual snow; of a fruitful garden of the Hesperides where toil were supererogatory, to see a vision of Castile. Turning from Spain to-day to that age of gold when she was mistress of oceans and continents, a dominant voice alike in politics and the graces of civilization,

[1] For the maps used in this chapter the Editor is indebted to Mr. J. Holmes, B.Sc., Lecturer in Geography, Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

one asks where is the continuity, what the thread that, winding through the mazes of time, will give the clue to the pattern. The earliest known settlers in the peninsula, intrepid seamen come from distant Phœnicia, called the land 'Hidden' (*Span* or *Spania*). Its mystery still awaits unravelling, and the most acute native thinkers can still find themselves, in all sincerity, completely at variance with one another.

Spain, with Portugal, forms the largest and most westerly of the Mediterranean peninsulas. Located once on the confines of the known world, the *ne plus ultra* of the adventurous navigator, its shores are washed by two oceans, and its boundaries completed by a barrier more formidable than any sea. The lesson came early, with Roncesvalles, and, taken in conjunction with a narrow strait of some dozen miles, gives point to the saying that Africa begins in the Pyrenees. Geographers tell us rather that the peninsula is a transition zone between the two continents, but the phrase stands as a key to more than one aspect of the country's story.

Next to Switzerland, the land is the most mountainous and that of greatest average altitude in Europe. Its dominant feature is the vast central table-land, fringed on three sides by a series of ranges, the Cantabrian mountains, the Iberian system and the Sierra Morena, while the fourth slopes westward to the Atlantic. The outline is completed by the Pyrenees to the north-east and the Sierra Nevada to the south-east, isolated from the central heights by the valleys of the Ebro and the Guadalquivir. Approximately one-half of the country's expanse is comprised in the *meseta central*, divided by a mountain system writ large in history, the Sierra de Guadarrama, into two plateaux, that to the north of an average altitude of 700 metres, that to the south of 600 metres, each cut into by a long river, the Douro and the Tagus, whose tortuous, precipitous courses are sufficiently indicative of the country they traverse. Two rivers alone, the Guadalquivir and the Ebro, are of noteworthy service to agriculture and navigation, and only in the rich valley of the former does Nature of her own accord clothe herself in smiling luxuriance. Life is good in Andalusia, but more typical of Spain are the cold, monotonous, all but barren expanses of Castile, 'land of saints and boulders',[1] of rugged peaks and sudden ravines, where the earth conceives as in agony and yields a hard-bought sustenance to scattered hamlets.

No less striking are the variations of climate, determined

[1] 'Tierra de santos y de cantos.'

less by situation than by the general relief. The central tableland is characterized in winter by high pressure, low temperature and abundant rains, particularly towards the Atlantic seaboard, in summer by low pressure, torrid heat and drought, culminating at times in veritable monsoons; and the transition is often violent and unforeseen. Even where the moderating influence of the sea is most felt, the contrasts in temperature are great and abrupt. The Atlantic winds provide on the west and north a heavy and constant rainfall (Santiago has 160 wet days per year); the Mediterranean fringe, on the contrary, suffers from abnormally dry periods (Alicante, 42 wet days per year), broken by sudden torrential bursts of rain, as when in 1882 there fell in Alicante more rain in one day than in all the rest of the year. The resultant inundations are as disastrous as they are inevitable and frequent. It follows that the Spanish climate, predisposing on the one hand to an existence of listless inactivity, and on the other making more than difficult the winning of one's daily bread, is a complex and important factor in the national life. 'Nine months of winter and three of hell',[1] says the Castilian, alternately parched by a pitiless sun and pierced by the biting winds from the Guadarrama, 'that take a man's life, yet would not blow out a lamp.'[2]

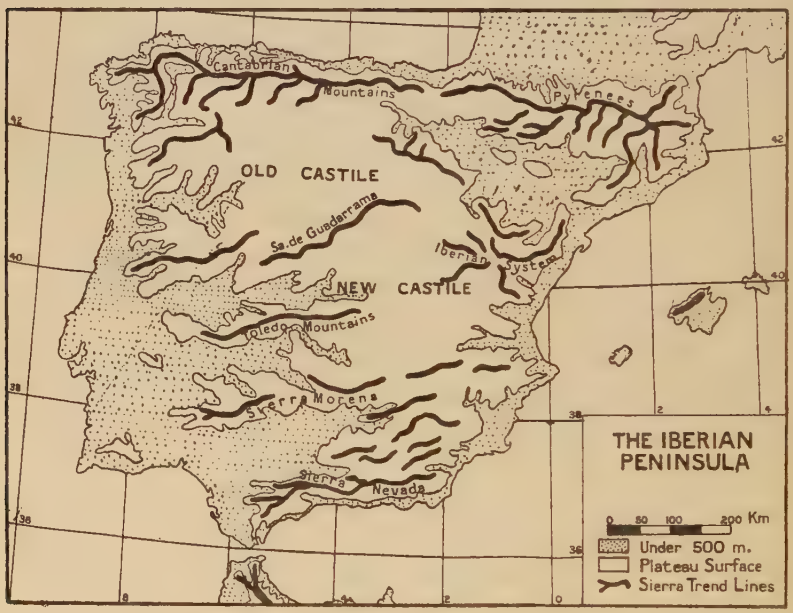
A country's fertility will depend, after the nature of the soil, upon its water supply. Spain is rugged and mountainous; its rainfall sins from extremes. The two factors in conjunction determine the character of its rivers, for there are wanting alike natural reservoirs and glaciers, save one in the Sierra Nevada. Flowing over high, broken country, they swell frequently into torrents. The Tagus, Spain's longest river, signifies in Spanish a cutting (*tajo*). With summer comes drought, and the same impetuous current degenerates into peaceful backwaters where cows stand knee-deep. The contrast is accentuated on the south-eastern slope; there mountains dip precipitately to the sea, and the uncertain rainfall causes the short rivers to alternate between periods of ungovernable spate and of insignificant tricklings. The extremes call forth, and have called forth since Roman times, all man's ingenuity to solve the problem of irrigation; although the alluvial deposits brought down to a tideless sea in the course of centuries, while ruling out good harbours, which require estuaries rather than deltas, make some amends by forming a littoral of remarkable fertility, justly known as the

[1] 'Nueve meses de invierno y tres de infierno.'

[2] 'El Guadarrama sutil
que mata un hombre y no apaga un candil.'

garden of Spain. On the whole Spain's rivers, numerous though they be (the Guadalquivir in its 680 kilometres counts 806 tributaries), are of little service to agriculture and industry.

To the contrasts in climate, in relief, in rainfall, there comes as corollary a remarkably wide range of vegetation, typified by the Sierra Nevada ('snowy range') whose slopes present the whole compass from the tropical palm and the sugar-cane to the flora of the polar regions. More than half the total area is uncultivated, being either pasture-land or wholly unproductive. In the remainder the predominant crops are, in the north, maize,



tubers and the cider-apple; corn and other cereals, the vine and the olive in the vast central plateau; while the last two with the orange become increasingly important in the south and south-east. The coastal strip east of Gibraltar gives essentially tropical products, cane, date-palm, cotton-plant and banana-tree. From the east come rice, maize, hemp and vegetables, with abundance of oranges and lemons. Forests are important in the north and on the southern fringes of the plateau.

One-fifth of the population of Spain is concerned with agriculture, and the yield will be greatly increased when science has remedied the uneven distribution of the water supply. It might

be contended, nevertheless, that this orientation of the nation's energy is mistaken. Lack of communication, of capital, of enterprise cannot obscure a fact of respectable antiquity among Greek and Roman historians, to wit, that the country is exceedingly rich in minerals. The copper mines of Río Tinto, exploited by Phœnicians, Romans and Moors, are still famous. Yet more important is the production of lead and iron. There follow zinc, mercury (the mercury mines of Almadén, likewise known to Romans and Moors, are among the richest in the world), silver, manganese, gold and tin. The natural advantages of this rich subsoil are offset by the scanty yield of coal, the cornerstone of industry; but one may still conjecture that, with improved organization and a freer hand for personal initiative, Spain's mineral production will in time rival agriculture as chief among the nation's resources.

Spain in its political configuration is composed of forty-nine provinces. Their creation by an arbitrary decree of 1833 sprang from the servile imitation of things French, characteristic of the period, and, far from respecting traditional divisions, sought to abolish that strong spirit of regionalism which has ever made of the country less a unity than a confederation. But some changes politics cannot effect, and the entire subordination of considerations historical, geographical, and linguistic to mere administrative convenience has defeated its own ends. Spain is still complicated and heterogeneous, and one must still approach it through its various 'kingdoms'.

Galicia occupies the north-western corner with its rocky picturesque coast. It is a land of resourceful small farmers and hardy seamen, inured to perils and fatigues. Ill-understood by the rest of Spain, their kinship, as descendants of the Celts who crossed the Pyrenees about the fifth century B.C., is with Portugal alike in language and literature. One attributes to them the epithets usually associated with the Celtic genius, 'impractical', 'highly imaginative', 'dreamers', and one comes as far short of the truth as such generalizations usually do. The *gallego* is essentially industrious and severely practical. Lack of ambition and supreme patience make of him when he leaves home a manual labourer, laughed at for his equanimity and thickness of skin. But his intimacy with nature has brought understanding, and understanding, tenderness and a certain melancholy; and the lyrical and musical gift is his in a special sense. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century Galician-Portuguese (it was then all one) was the recognized medium for lyric poetry. Alfonso

the Wise drew up his *Primera Crónica General* and the *Siete Partidas* in Castilian, but his *Cantigas* are written quite naturally and inevitably in Galician. 'But lately', writes the Marquis of Santillana (*c.* 1449), 'all poets and troubadours of these parts, whether of Castile, Andalusia or Extremadura, used to compose all their works in the Galician or Portuguese tongue.'[1] The phenomenon is explained largely by the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela, known to the devout from the tenth century. Along it came to Spain many a troubadour, and the full influence of the Provençal lyric, which, though it took deep root also in Catalonia, left Castile all but untouched. But much also is due to the introspective temperament of a people not concerned with the world at large, a people who even while adopting courtly forms have been able to inspire into their artificiality a breath of true feeling.

In Asturias we come on the haughtiest race of a haughty land. In this narrow strip between mountain and sea is Covadonga, and in Covadonga the Spanish nation was reborn invincible after the Moorish irruption. 'Land of torrents' the name signifies, fitted for the restless existence of a people of fighters who knew no quarter. *Sangre limpia* was there a very present reality, for they had seen the vision of a Spain won back for Christendom, and every man was a crusader. Pushing beyond the Cantabrians and moving its capital from Oviedo to León, Asturias in time became merged in Castile, and its tongue, kept free from Moorish contagion, became the speech that was to impose itself on the country.

The Basques sit astride the Pyrenees, a people of mystery which their mountain home does nothing to dispel. Ethnographers see in the Basques of to-day the remnants of a people who were able nowhere else to preserve their identity, and find in their language the explanation of place-names which testify to a former occupation of the whole peninsula by a non-Aryan stock, though even this much is part conjecture and not universally accepted. The difference of race is further revealed in their considerable talent for industry and commerce: Bilbao is one of the most progressive centres in Spain. By nature kindly and hospitable, they are refractory to interference; 'like saints, provided they be not angered,' says Cervantes.[2] 'Better be

[1] 'Non ha mucho tiempo qualesquier dezidores e trovadores destas partes, agora fuessen castellanos, andaluces o de la Estremadura, todas sus obras componian en lengua gallega o portuguesa.'—*Prohemio al condestable de Portugal*, XIV.

[2] 'Son unos benditos como no estén enojados.'—*La Señora Cornelia*.

the head of a mouse than the tail of a lion',[1] their own saying has it, and they steadfastly refuse to merge their nationality and their tongue, puzzle of philologists, in a larger whole.

Asturias for conscious pride; Aragon for stubbornness. 'The *aragonés* knocks in a nail with his head,'[2] runs the proverb, and their history shows a greater tenacity in questions of personal liberty than is found elsewhere in the peninsula. Nowhere did the Cortes intervene more effectively in administration, and Alfonso I, confirming the charter of Jaca in 1187, tells that those of Castile, Navarre and other parts come to Jaca to study its charters and transfer them to their own country. The old Aragonese nobles, *ricos hombres de natura*, were always particularly turbulent, reserving to themselves the right to make war individually, and to throw off allegiance to the king—their peer—when it suited. The well-known oath to their monarch is a classic of independence: 'we who are as good as you swear to you who are no better than we, to accept you as our king and sovereign lord, provided you observe all our statutes and laws; and if not, no (*Si no, no*).' Culture came early to Aragon. Huesca, chosen by Sertorius (*c.* 80 B.C.), as a centre where the youth of Spain were to be brought up after Roman standards, became an important focus of Roman influence. Ten centuries later, glosses from the monastery of San Millán de Berceo, whence was to issue the first poet known by name in Spanish literature, give the earliest example of Spanish written as an independent tongue.

In the supposed unity of Spain no element is more jarring than Catalonia. There is separatism in the very spelling of the name (Catalunya) by a Catalan, and his claim appears justified on numerous counts. Barcelona is to-day the most important city in the country, and the most European. Its cult of efficiency is utterly at variance with the outlook of the south, and its prosperity in face of difficulties implies a standing reproach to the indolence of those who benefit nonchalantly from the bounty of Nature or, where she is harsh and niggardly, resign themselves to poverty. Catalonia is poor both agriculturally and minerally, yet the love of toil and the will to succeed have converted it into a vast manufacturing region, where industries flourish even in towns distant from the sea and lacking alike in coal and in raw materials.

But the Catalan's uneasy feeling that his industry is helping to maintain others in idleness is only part of the problem, and

[1] 'Más vale ser cabeza de ratón que cola de león.'
[2] 'Un aragonés clava un clavo con la cabeza.'

is subordinated to his extraordinarily keen response to a tradition of centuries of splendour in which Castile had no part. The region through which Greek and Roman civilization entered the peninsula has always been the most receptive of foreign influences, and but for the impulse towards independence its destinies for long would have been bound up with the other side of the Pyrenees. The *marca hispanica* of Charlemagne, its counts soon cast off allegiance to the Franks, and at the same time intensified the campaign against the Moors to such good purpose that by the end of the tenth century their alliance or neutrality was gladly bought at the price of territorial concessions. Union with Aragon brought trading relations with the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily and Naples, and Catalonia was for centuries the greatest trading nation in the Mediterranean (that is to say, in the world) with a mercantile code, *The Consulate of the Sea*, of universal acceptance. Things changed when with the discovery of America and the new direction given to trade, the Mediterranean became but a backwater, but it was left to Castile to administer the *coup de grâce*, and the memory rankles. By a codicil to the will of Queen Isabel her subjects in Aragon and Catalonia were forbidden under pain of death to do commerce with the Indies, and the sun had set, for the nonce, on their economic greatness.

It is nevertheless in the realm of the mind that the Catalan is most sure of his right to a separate existence. No argument is so dear to the claimant of political concessions as the possession of a special tongue, and if one hesitates to speak of Catalonia as merely a province of Spain one dare not designate Catalan as merely a dialect of Castilian. Its basic affinity must indeed be sought inside the peninsula, for during the centuries of Roman sway the whole country received the same Latin speech that was afterwards to work out its own modalities in accordance with regional tendencies and temperaments. Recent scholarship has revealed that affinity with the tongues of the West to be a very real fact, though long obscured by the dissimilarities of Castilian. But its evolution has been as long and as conscious as that of any. It has been the speech of men who carved out their own destiny. Historical circumstances, the Frankish dominion, the later dream of a Pyrenean kingdom, and the active part played here as in Galicia by the troubadours, have caused it to develop in close kinship with Provençal, but it remains a definite language, a legitimate daughter of Latin and not a bastard offshoot. The proof is in the vitality of its literature. Its written documents go back to the early ninth century,

with a recommendation from the Church that preaching should be in the vernacular. By the twelfth there blossoms forth not merely court poetry but a rare wealth of fine prose, royal chronicles, political and commercial codes, romances of chivalry. Ramón Lull (see p. 107) bequeathed a truly encyclopædic heritage of philosophy, mysticism and science, establishing to all time the dignity and sufficiency of his native speech.

Centuries of ruthless castilianization succeeded in imposing the tongue of bureaucracy and in relegating Catalan to the country districts. There it persisted until with Romanticism and the cult of the mediaeval it once again leapt into prominence, not to lead a precarious existence merely as the handmaiden of a political movement, for languages cannot be forced into vitality, but because Catalonia had waked anew to the older glories of her race, and the key to the tradition was Catalan. Aribau's famous *Ode* of 1833 (see p. 182) was a first trumpet-call to an active pride in the past and the beginning of a movement to restore, purify, decastilianize a language that could stand by itself. To-day Catalan authors, writing to a potential public of five millions, can actually count on larger sales than Castilians, whose speech is the speech in Europe of four times that number.

The policy of centralization has never been fruitful in Spain. Land of many and conflicting tendencies, to one principle it has always been true, even to excess. Just as the individual refuses to merge into the regional, so the regional into the national. Catalonia can make a very notable contribution to Hispanic prosperity and Hispanic culture, not as a pale reflection of Madrid but as an entity combining something of the limpidity and light of that Greek thought which first reached its shores with the progressiveness of a people who have kept in close touch with European movements and have known how to make industry beautiful. Economically Catalonia would derive doubtful benefits from independence. Its agricultural yield is a mere fraction of its consumption, and its prosperity, dependent in great part on imported raw materials, could be all but stifled by tariff walls. It is for Madrid to make the gesture which will grant full scope to regional pride and initiative and yet leave Catalans glad to co-operate in the well-being of the country as a whole. The alienation of sympathies is perhaps the greatest crime which modern statesmanship can commit.

In Valencia one hears a tongue which is still far from Spanish though just intelligible to the Spaniard. It is Catalan facing south instead of north, influenced less by French and more by Castilian. The land, with its groves of oranges and lemons,

an unforgettable splash of gold against a spring sky, bespeaks the transition to Andalusia, where the harsh facts of industrialism are unable to acclimatize themselves and life is colour and music. The Arabs found life pleasant there and sent the Berbers up north to struggle for existence. For them was the delight in running water, in delicate tracery in architecture, in poetry which springs spontaneously to the lips,—a tribute to the joy of living. The places are few where one can still believe wholeheartedly that time was made for cats and dogs. Andalusia is one of them, and the traveller who goes there with a fixed itinerary will find himself, and rightly, an object of scorn.

The *andaluz* is an exuberant conversationalist. So lively are his impressions before the kaleidoscope of life that he must exteriorize them or explode, and his eloquence is of a persuasiveness that ends by creating not only for his listener but for himself a world far removed from reality. If the *sevillano* tells you that two and two make six and a half, it is because he himself believes that they make five, and under a sky so diaphanous that it seems to reach up to the very gates of Heaven one's credulity is not easily fettered, for mere facts are unavailing to disturb the all-permeating peace. The dialect of Andalusia is a derivative of the Castilian which from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century spread south over the ever-increasing territory won back from the Moors. Its distinctive features are attributable partly to a tardy evolution, partly to the effect on language of a temperament in which laziness takes from the energy of articulation what vivacity adds to its rapidity. They may be briefly summarized. Intervocalic *d* and, to a less extent, *g* disappear: na (nada), llegá (llegada), miaja (migaja); *z* is pronounced as *s* (*seseo*), or, more rarely, *s* as *z* (*ceceo*); final *s* of a syllable becomes a mere aspiration, ehta (esta), loh libroh (los libros), or is assimilated to the following consonant, mul-lo (muslo); *r* at the end of a syllable is often likewise assimilated,—vihen (virgen),—at the end of a word it may become *n*,—mejón (mejor),—and often again it is completely lost,—lleválo (llevarlo); initial *h* from Latin *f* is aspirated: hilo, humo; *ll* is weakened to *y*: caye (calle); and *l* after a consonant tends to become *r*, prato, branco. Several of these variations are definitely archaic; many of them are characteristic of South-American Spanish. For Latin America was colonized and exploited from the Guadalquivir, and if the *conquistadores* did not carry the King's Spanish across the Atlantic, it was at least a considerable service that they should have spread the same dialect.

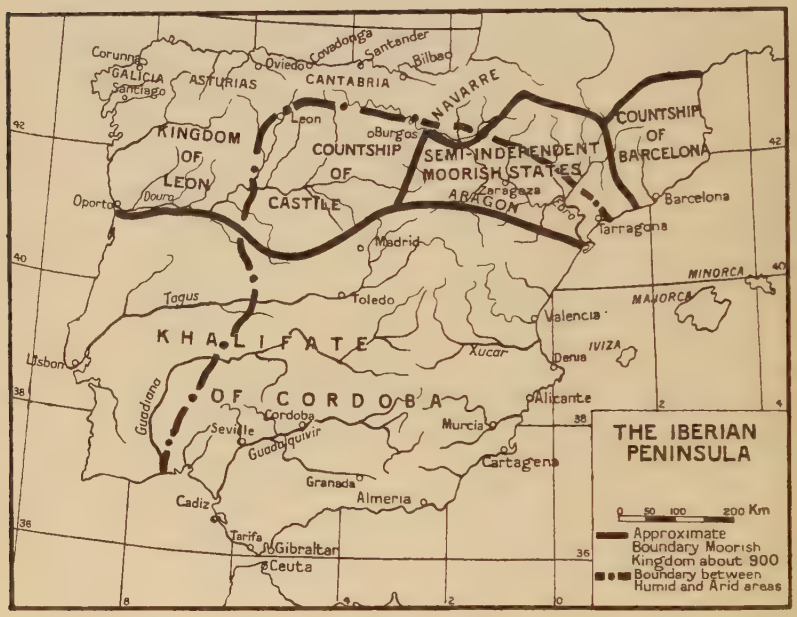
The two Castiles, by way of contrast, complete the picture.

Perched high on a barren plateau, far from the sea and all its moderating influences, they strike a very distinctive note, a note of introspection, of austerity, of intimacy with the things that abide. The traveller feels it in his bones as he wanders across those monotonous landscapes, where man seems a pigmy in the presence of Nature, and realizes it. It is as naturally the land of crusaders and mystics as Andalusia is the home of bull-fighting. And it is the crusaders and the mystics who have formed Spain. Castile has been the leaven that has leavened the whole mass, standing out from the rest of the country as the peculiar home of individualism.

The transference by Ordoño II (914–924) of his court from Oviedo to León brings the first mention of protest from Castile that it should be subject to a distant tribunal, and we read of the election of two judges to decide all disputes in Castile as far as the river Pisuerga. Tradition has it further that the Castilians collected and consigned to the flames in Burgos every known copy within their territories of the *Fuero Juzgo*, the Visigothic code observed in León, in Aragon, in Catalonia and among the Mozarabs, decreeing that their justices should be guided by *albedrío*, free-will,—that is to say, by their own judgment and by customary usage,—and not by any respect for conventional authority. The change was epoch-making, for it marked out Castile as a dissentient, refractory to dictation and even to tradition when conscious that it had its own path to follow. The same ferment is at work in the development of its tongue, the predestined vehicle of epic as Galician is of lyric. On many points Castilian follows an evolution distinct from that ruling to east, west and south, and where the direction is the same it reveals greater surety in itself and reaches the definitive stage much earlier. At a time when codices from León bear glosses in Arabic, copyists in Castile comment or translate in Castilian. And it is this region of consuetudinary law and of vigorous romance speech which set the norm for the rest of Spain. When we speak of the Spanish language now, we mean Castilian, and it is the passage from Latin to Castilian that must here occupy our preferential attention.

National consciousness is closely bound up with a national tongue. It was no mere coincidence that 1492, Spain's *annus mirabilis*, the year of the fall of Granada, the expulsion of the Jews and the discovery of America, should bring to light the earliest known grammar of a romance language, Nebrija's *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*. In all phases of the country's

life it was clear that a long period of uncertainty and groping was over and that the time had come for systematization and taking stock. 'When I consider well with myself,' runs the dedication to Queen Isabel, 'and fix my gaze on the antiquity of all things which for our remembering have been preserved in writing, one thing I find and infer as a conclusion most certain, that always language has been the companion of empire, and did in such wise follow it that together they had their beginning, grew and flourished, and afterwards in their fall they were again



together.'[1] With the new reality of empire came the consciousness of a tongue worthy to follow it round the world and to impose itself on new peoples and continents.

There have been many stages between the speech of Cæsar and that of Cervantes, but the tradition is continuous, with the Senecas and Martial under Rome, Orosius and Saint Isidore

[1] 'Cuando bien comigo pienso, i pongo delante los ojos el antiguedad de todas las cosas que para nuestra recordacion i memoria quedaron escriptas, una cosa hallo i saco por conclusion mui cierta : que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio ; i de tal manera lo siguió, que junta mente començaron, crecieron i florecieron, i despues junta fue la caida de entrambos.'

among the Goths, and the centuries of literary activity in the monastery until Alfonso the Wise made learning available to the ordinary citizen and taught him to have pride in his country's record. The kinship with the parent tongue is still easily traced, as in verbal forms, where whole tenses remain with but the change of a single letter as they were uttered by Cicero; and dilettanti have left us compositions which are at once Latin and Spanish. The literature of the thirteenth century in Spain is readily intelligible to the modern reader, whereas the French of the period is to the uninitiated a closed book.

Many tongues have reacted on Spanish and left their mark on its vocabulary, but it is a tribute to the intensity of the Roman influence that not even the Goths, who found the moral authority of Rome at a low ebb, nor the Moors, in spite of their longer stay and of their cultural pre-eminence, could shake the hold of the Latin speech on the peninsula. Rome differed from other invaders in that it not only brought to Spain its customs, institutions and literature, but succeeded in creating a social cohesion and a civic sense so imposing that assimilation and full citizenship became the greatest ambition of the conquered.

The speech these rude tribesmen learnt was, needless to say, neither acquired from the *domine* nor steeped in the wells of pure Latin undefiled. It came primarily from contact with the soldiery, men who already in Italy expressed themselves in ways not current in the forum, and this 'vulgar' Latin, domiciled now in regions far beyond the range of purists, marks out for itself distinctive tendencies of evolution which in the fullness of time produce a new romance tongue. Its domain was the entire peninsula, though least strong in the Basque country, a wild mountainous region of indomitable tribes and scant economic value and on the direct road to nowhere; and its sway so absolute that pre-Latin traces in modern Spanish are exceedingly few (*páramo*, *izquierdo*, and several other words and place-names bespeak Iberian or Celtic descent).

The schools were there, and Spain produced its great names in Latin literature, but theirs was the speech of the erudite few, definitely modelled on Rome and finding its precepts in past authorities rather than in present practice. By the fall of the Empire, classical Latin was dead and its imitation a scholastic exercise; not without influence, it is true, in the measure in which learning mingled with the outer world and imposed respect, but still something far removed from that principle of progress by which a language must constantly change, adapt and rejuvenate itself if it is to keep pace with the movement of man's

mind. It is, then, rather in the development of low Latin among the classes who used it as a living instrument and, ignorant of linguistic science, developed it according to their needs that one must search for the tendencies which have made modern Spanish. That the same classes should be precisely those least likely to leave behind written memorials of their existence is the student's capital difficulty.

Spain's first literary monuments are of the twelfth century (*Poema de Mío Cid*, ? 1140) and reveal Spanish as an accomplished fact, but earlier notarial documents and ecclesiastical glosses have done much to unveil the stages to that end. Scholars who progressed backwards from romance texts to romance tendencies in Latin manuscripts found that, earlier than 1170, these tendencies lost increasingly in number and significance before a surge of low Latinity. Research from the opposite direction, i.e. through the documents of the ninth and tenth centuries, has recently brought to light a new richness of romance forms appearing as marginal notes to elucidate or amplify the text. These, too, decrease notably towards the end of the eleventh century and vanish before that same low Latinity. One finds then documentary evidence of a first gradual evolution towards romance dating from the early centuries of the Middle Ages, full of archaisms, neologisms and confusion with scholastic Latin. There follows, with a reinstatement of this latter in something approaching purity, a marked cessation of romance elements, easily traceable to historical events.

The reign of Ferdinand I (the Great) of Castile (1035–1065) saw a striking decrease in the extent of Muhammadan sway in Spain. The Christian kingdoms were becoming alive to their power and to their *rôle* as champions of religion, and the realization anew of their affinity to Europe and European culture turned their gaze northward instead of to the south. The suppression of Visigothic or Mozarabic rites (1078–1080) makes the Spanish liturgy conform with that of the rest of Europe, and the Benedictine monks of Cluny come to Spain to uphold the ideals of religious austerity and papal supremacy. They go further, and initiate a drastic cultural revision. Holding many important sees, notably Toledo, they set themselves to restore Latin grammar and ancient scholarship among the clergy. Previous literature is rendered unintelligible by the substitution of French script for Visigothic, and the predominant influences in the new age come from beyond the Pyrenees. It is about this time that romance elements disappear from the Latin of notarial documents. When, a century later, the purist influence has

faded out, romance reappears not now uncertain and apologetic, but setting itself up as a definite norm alongside Latin. Thus, whereas in the earlier period one finds vacillation between many stages of development (e.g. *alteru, altro, autro, aotro, otro*), the latter is either definitely Latin, *alteru*, or definitely romance, *otro*.

The *sermo rusticus*, in Spain as elsewhere, early developed sounds new to Latin, and the earliest documents show scribes grappling with the inadequacy of the Latin alphabet to represent them. Among distinguishing features in the process of evolution one notes the formation of new diphthongs from accented ĕ and ŏ (ciento, bueno) ; the appearance of a series of palatal consonants evolved under the influence of the yod (daño, damnu ; mucho, multu ; Castilla, castella) ; the preservation or modification, rarely the loss, of the final vowel ; the sonorization of intervocalic explosive consonants, with the subsequent loss of the unaccented vowel ; the reduction of initial *pl, cl, fl* to *ll* ; the passage of initial *f* to *h*, which has since become mute ; and the complete confusion between *b* and *v*. Documents reveal many conflicting forms of a word according as it is used by purists (e.g. *auctoritare*), by men not wholly insensible to romance influences (*obturicare, obtorigare, octoricare, octurgare, autorgare*), by pedants who mingle both tendencies (*otorekare*) or through ignorance cut across the instinct of the language (*otorkare*), or finally by those who know nothing of Latinity and reveal the popular tendency supreme (*otorigare, oturigare, otorgar*).[1] Continuity of records is lacking to give the chronological sequence, but it is easily reconstructed : *debita, debida, debda, deuda ; populu, pobulu, poblo, pueblo ; civitate, cividade, cibdad, ciudad*. In syntax, as with other romance tongues, the accusative is the only case of the noun, and its final *m*, tending to disappear in Latin, goes completely ; case relations are expressed by prepositions, and tenses enriched by auxiliary verbs.

Linguistic unity in Spain is still far from being a fact, and the language imposed by Alfonso the Wise was originally the speech of a minority, the inhabitants of Castile. Throughout the south and east, where the cultural influence of the invaders was greatest, education made men conservative. Cantabria, on the contrary, as the latest part of the peninsula to be romanized, and that never completely, shows a free revolution, and low Latin develops many peculiar features ; and Cantabria was the cradle of Castile. Of the three vertical bands into which Spain is divided dialectally, Galician and Leonese, Castilian, Aragonese

[1] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español*, p. 556.

and Catalan, Castilian was until the eleventh century hemmed in to a diminutive territory, and counted for little beyond its frontiers. The others had much in common, and were united in the centre and south by the speech of the Mozarabs. It is instructive to note the changing forms of a word as one moves across the north of Spain: e.g. Galician *leite*, Asturian *lleite*, *leiche*, Castilian *leche*, Aragonese *leite*, Catalan *llet*; Galician *porta*, *tempo*, *peito*, Castilian *puerta*, *tiempo*, *pecho*, Catalan *porta*, *temps*, *pit*.[1] In each instance the dialects of east and west bear a closer relationship to one another than to Castilian. Then came political ascendancy, on which Alfonso VII set the seal in the partition of his realms in 1157 by leaving Castile to his first-born. Toledo had long since been conquered and to Old Castile was added the New. The language of the conquerors swept away Mozarabic dialects and, like a wedge, effectively broke the links uniting east and west, so that till recently it has been customary to look for the affinity of Catalan outside the peninsula, in Provençal.

In Cantabria, then, the nucleus of Castile, many of the distinctive traits of Spanish had their origin. The substitution of an aspirated *h* for initial *f* responds to the lack of this sound in primitive Iberian, which tongue persisted on both sides of the Pyrenees in spite of Rome. From Cantabria, too, came the contraction of the suffix *iello* to *illo*, the pronunciation *x* (modern *j*, *oreja*, *ojo*) in place of the *ll* or *y* of the remaining peninsular dialects; the passage from *ct*, *lt* to *ch* (*hecho*, *mucho*). The diphthongization of *o* was a much less localized phenomenon, but again Castile took the lead in developing and later in propagating it. By the tenth century it had there reached its definitive form *ue*, while León and Aragon still vacillated between *ue*, *uo* and *ua*.

Some three hundred words are all that remain in Castilian to tell of the three centuries of Gothic rule in Spain. The paucity of the contribution is explained partly by their intellectual inferiority to the people they overthrew, partly by the long period of frontier contact with the Empire previous to their arrival, thanks to which their speech was already latinized to a considerable degree.

It is more surprising to find the linguistic influence of the Arabs utterly disproportionate to the cultural hegemony they so long enjoyed in the peninsula, eloquently voiced in the lament of one Alvaro de Córdoba in 854. 'Many of my co-religionists', he comments bitterly, 'read the poetry and tales of the Arabs

[1] Américo Castro, *Lengua, Enseñanza y Literatura*, pp. 34, 47.

and study the writings of the Muhammadan theologians and philosophers, not to refute them but to learn how to express themselves with greater elegance and correctness in the Arab tongue. Alas, all the Christian youths who become famous for their talent know only the language and literature of the Arabs; they read and study zealously Arabic books, of which by dint of great expenditure they form extensive libraries, and proclaim aloud on all sides that this literature is worthy of admiration. Heu, pro dolor! linguam suam nesciunt christiani.' But intercourse only served to accentuate the essentially different character of the two tongues. The same person often spoke the one and the other, but they were none the less immiscible, and romance grammar and pronunciation remained alike unmodified. Only in vocabulary are there any considerable traces. Spanish has derived from Arabic some 650 words, the majority concrete nouns which have been adopted with the objects they name; many terms of war speak of the fundamental relationship between the two races; others refer to the arts and sciences in which Spain had so much to learn, architecture, agriculture, industry or medicine.

Modern European tongues have entered Spanish mainly through literature. In their beginnings Peninsular letters are largely derivative. The eleventh century, as has been noted already, opened the way to French influence. Sancho the Great of Navarre remade the pilgrim route to Santiago, transforming it from a dangerous mountain passage into a highway of commercial and intellectual relationships, dotted with French colonies as the *Poema de Mío Cid* is dotted with gallicisms, *mensaje*, *palafré*, *vergel*, *vianda*. French still remains the most active influence on Spanish, especially in the eighteenth century, when the Bourbon dynasty and the preponderating influence of French thought throughout Europe introduced not only a multitude of words, terms of dress, social usages, warfare, but of phrases and idioms. The literature of no country is more translated in Spain, and the apparent ease of turning from one tongue to another closely akin is in reality a difficulty and a temptation to the careless or ignorant scribe. Such, for example, the deformation of ' à bride abattue ' to ' a brida batida ' by a seventeenth-century dramatist, to the disparagement of the proper Spanish idiom ' a rienda suelta '.[1] Only next to French comes Italian, whose cultural relations with Spain have been of the closest both before and since the days when Juan de Valdés, in the early sixteenth century, could write with legitimate pride that

[1] Noted by Américo Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

'now in Italy, alike among ladies and gentlemen, it was counted refinement and elegance to be able to speak Castilian'.[1]

The contribution of Germany is recent, and consists in the main of scientific terms. English has loaned a considerable vocabulary of politics and industry, and has swept down all barriers in the domain of sport, even to the extent of endangering such a genuinely Spanish word as *deportista* with the spurious *sportman*. The language is to-day more receptive than ever, a state due partly to the ever-increasing internationalism of life, partly to the fact that in the more material branches of progress Spain has never aspired to leadership, and partly to lack of education and pride in its own ancient riches. Foreign terms are taken into the current vocabulary almost daily and adapted before one's eyes. A typical example is *lock-out*, which appeared recently first in its English dress, wavered momentarily between *lokout* and *locout*, and in less than a month had reached its phonetic form *locaut*.

But while foreign influences have been felt sporadically, as a corollary on politics and commerce, the language has constantly been renewing itself at the source. The Latinizing tendency is inevitably strongest at the Renaissance, and is linked up with the varying fortunes of Spanish as a literary tongue. There had been a vigorous tradition of vernacular literature from the *Poema del Cid* onward, including such notable achievements as the *Libro de Buen Amor*, *Amadís de Gaula* and the *Celestina*; but as a vehicle for learning it was long without repute. Conversation in Spanish was forbidden by statute among University students, and in 1546 Ambrosio de Morales wrote sadly: 'it is now almost sufficient for a book to be written in Castilian to be held of no account'.[2] Mariana wrote his history of Spain in Latin (1592), although, reflecting on the insufficiency of such patriotism, he had the perception afterwards to translate it into Spanish.

When there came men bold in their faith in the tongue and able to translate it into works, as Hernán Pérez de Oliva, whose version of the *Amphitruo* of Plautus was written designedly to illustrate the sufficiency of Spanish (*Muestra de la lengua Castellana en el Nacimiento de Hercules o Comedia de Amphitrion*, 1525), they proceeded from an intimate command of Latin as the fount of eloquence and turned there for enrichment. Hence many *cultismos*, terms which through their tardy and conscious adop-

[1] 'Ya en Italia, assi entre damas como cavalleros pasaba por gentileza y galania saber hablar castellano.'—*Diálogo de la Lengua*.

[2] 'Ya quasi basta ser un libro escrito en Castellano para no ser tenido en nada.'—Preface to *Diálogo de la Dignidad del Hombre*, by Pérez de Oliva.

tion have suffered few changes in form or content, alongside full romance forms of the same words current in popular speech since the days of the Roman soldiery. There are centuries between *bodega* and *botica*, *letrado* and *literato*, *cadera* and *cátedra*. The day of translation from Latin brought the discovery that many terms lacked correspondence in romance, and they were simply adapted. By the end of the sixteenth century the vernacular was triumphant. 'I have confidence in our Castilian tongue', had written the same Pérez de Oliva in his dedication, 'that it will not let itself be worsted.'[1] The Golden Age brought, with Lope, Quevedo, Cervantes, a glorious justification.

Castilian is among the most phonetic tongues in existence. Added to its linguistic position between Latin and French, this suggests a tempting ease to him who would not go beneath the surface. In the richness of its vocabulary, the native vigour of its idioms and its precision in expressing the finer shades of meaning, the searching student, on the contrary, finds at once despair and joy. The vocabulary of Shakespeare has been computed. No one has yet fixed even an approximate limit to that of Lope de Vega, author of some 1,800 plays. The degree of exactitude permitted by the tongue may be exemplified by the fact that whereas English and French have but one word for 'to be' and one for 'to have', Spanish has in either instance two (*ser* and *estar*, *haber* and *tener*) to be clearly differentiated.

Such are the more obvious characteristics of a tongue that exercises a subtle power of creating enthusiasm. 'Speak to me in Spanish, for I understand it well and will take pleasure in it,'[2] Cervantes makes the Queen of England say, and the traveller from the north still experiences a charm hard to define as he listens. The emperor Charles V spoke Italian to his mistresses, French to his friends, German to his dogs; in Spanish he communed with his God. For an earlier tribute we may go back to 1150, to the chronicler of a military expedition who writes of the Castilians: 'illorum lingua resonat quasi tympano tuba.' Sonorous, full of a weighty dignity, the speech of a race of *conquistadores*, it has also its tender side, helped by a wealth of diminutive endings.

The Spaniard delights in his tongue, and uses it lovingly. 'To talk' ('tell') is a prosaic word, of the counting of things; 'parler' is 'parabolare', the search for effect; but 'hablar' is 'fabulare', to invent, to romance, to revel in the joys of

[1] 'Yo tengo en nuestra castellana [lengua] confiança que no se dexará vencer.'

[2] 'Habladme en español, que yo le entiendo bien y gustaré de ello.'

conversation. The sounds of Spanish are essentially short and clear-cut, energetically enunciated and admitting of no slurring and no diphthongization. But the foreigner is impressed most of all by its rich, flexible intonation. Where the Englishman is content with tones and half-tones, the Spaniard ranges through octaves. His meaning does not depend on the order of words but on the rise and fall of the voice, and, in writing, interrogation and exclamation marks precede as well as follow in order that the reader may be prepared.

The mantle of Roman oratory passed to Spain, to the Senecas and Quintilian, and the more meretricious facets of eloquence, false emphasis, verbosity, a sought obscurity, have been recurrent defects in Spanish literature whenever it has lost its grip on reality. But alongside the Senecas is Martial, and the gift for pungent satire where not a word is lost is also inherent in the language. Quevedo wrote *La Política de Dios*; he is also the author of many a memorable *letrilla satírica*. And against the indictment of mere wordiness one remembers that nowhere is the short, pithy saying more acclimatized than in Spain. Sancho Panza is the living embodiment of a Book of Proverbs.

Bearing in mind the diversity apparent in every aspect of the peninsula, geography, race, history, language, it becomes passing hard to form a broad estimate of Spanish character and temperament which shall not be, *ipso facto*, false and misleading. One may most safely begin by discounting the traditional picture of Spain, familiar to all who have ever built castles, the Spain of tambourine and guitar, of gypsies and light-hearted vagabonds, of passionate love and equally passionate knife-thrusts. 'Who has not seen Seville has seen no marvel,' [1] says the Andalusian; it is still more cogent to say that who has seen only Seville has not seen Spain, nor even the most characteristic side of Spain. The tourist who accepts an itinerary from a travel agency and goes out cherishing the belief that, as in another equally maligned and not wholly dissimilar country, there are no facts in Spain, will find the inhabitants sufficiently sophisticated to humour him. He will see no facts, and he will come home to write a book which, however unconsciously, will be a *guide à thèse*, leaving truth where it was.

It must be confessed that one who turns from ingenuous travel impressions to the reasoned analyses of native thinkers will find his perplexity rather deepened than lightened. Spain has never been quite sure of its *rôle* in the world, and its most

[1] 'Quien no ha visto Sevilla no ha visto maravilla.'

authoritative interpreters share the uncertainty. Angel Ganivet [1] has theorized on the peculiar destinies of a peninsular State. The continental country is concerned always to be prepared for possible invasion from its neighbours; its policy is based on resistance. The island kingdom, with greater security and inelastic frontiers, must breed adventurers and found colonies or die of hunger. It tends as naturally to expansion as the other to conservation, and is characterized by an outlook essentially aggressive. Between them comes the peninsula. Doubtful which path to follow, it is likely to make an indifferent showing at either. It will recover from waves of invasion to burst into sudden activity as a colonizing power, forgetful till too late that there are still frontiers to be guarded. But in greatness or decline independence will be its keynote.

Spaniards have always been critical of their country. 'Hearing a man speak', wrote Bartrina fifty years ago, 'it is easy to tell where he saw the light of day. If he praises England to you he will be English; if he speaks ill of Prussia he is French; and if he speaks ill of Spain he is a Spaniard.' [2] Since 1898, when there faded away all hope of a colonial empire, the spirit of inquiry has been tenfold more intense, and Spaniards have interrogated not only the future but the past. Their findings are instructive for their lack of agreement. To Ganivet, an Andalusian, the greatest influence after the preaching of Christianity in the formation of Spain, that which gave birth to the spirit of quixotry, was the incursion of the Arabs. Unamuno, a Basque, professes towards the Arabs a profound antipathy, all but denies such a thing as Arabian civilization, and holds their invasion to have been the supreme calamity of Spain.[3] Certain fundamental attributes one can, nevertheless, distinguish beyond fear of contradiction.

Carthage was among the earliest cultural influences in Spain, and in Unamuno's adaptation of a line by a slave from Carthage, who indeed never saw the Peninsula, one finds the most fitting text for an appreciation of Spanish character: 'Homo sum, et nullum hominem a me alienum puto'. A broad humanity, founded on the belief that man is more important than his works and that his value is independent of the trappings of circumstance,

[1] *Idearium Español* (see p. 180 below).

[2] Oyendo hablar a un hombre, fácil es
acertar donde vió la luz del sol;
si os alaba a Inglaterra, será inglés,
si os habla mal de Prusia, es un francés,
y si habla mal de España, es español.'

[3] Unamuno y Ganivet, *El Porvenir de España*.

underlies the Spaniard's every relationship with his fellows. It explains his refractoriness to authority and organization; it explains also his inborn sense of pride, levelling the peasant with the highest in the realm and leading to the extreme and unreasoning cult of the point of honour, a dominant *motif* in classical Spanish literature. A belief in divine right secures inviolability to the king, but 'under the king, no one',[1] and the wronged subject, who has held his peace in the belief that the offender was his monarch, discovers the real culprit and slays him without ceremony in the royal presence. It is a true democracy which comes out in the most aristocratic. Calderón was a Knight of the Order of Santiago and a Court poet who wrote conventional dramas of gallantry. A military expedition to Catalonia awoke other sympathies and he came back to write *The Mayor of Zalamea*, one of the noblest vindications in Spanish literature of the inalienable rights of the commoner against any overweening presumption of authority. Or it may be called an innate aristocracy that is very present in the humblest. There was a world of philosophy in the ragged girl who approached the writer on a severe winter evening in Madrid and asked, with that use of diminutives which can make the dignified Castilian tongue so tender and so moving: 'A little alms, young sir, we are all little brothers'.[2]

One of the most characteristic writings of the Spanish Renaissance is a *Dialogue on the Dignity of Man*.[3] The concept has often stood in the way of material progress, but it has always been cherished. The squire in the *Lazarillo de Tormes* had left his home in Old Castile because a neighbouring gentleman refused to doff his hat to him, and starved in Toledo rather than derogate from his gentle birth by putting a hand to toil. Few foreigners are not moved to anger by the beggars who abound in most Spanish towns, but no true Spaniard will look down on them. The accidents of fortune can never justify a slighting *tú*, and he who cannot give has at least a 'Pardon, brother'. The beggar himself considers his place in society fully justified. It was in Toledo that one such sought alms 'for the love of God, for in the fullness of my youth He has taken away all desire to work'.[4] To an individualist the reasoning is perfectly sound.

[1] *Del Rey abajo, ninguno*, the title of a comedy by Rojas Zorrilla (1607–1648).

[2] 'Una limosnita, señorito, que todos somos hermanitos.'

[3] *Diálogo de la Dignidad del Hombre*, by Hernán Pérez de Oliva.

[4] 'Una limosna por el amor de Dios, que en la plenitud de mi juventud me ha quitado la gana de trabajar.'

For by personal dignity one must hold, whatever else be lost; and, as it is expected, so it is freely conceded even to one's enemy. 'Gentlemen of Granada, although Moors, hidalgos,'[1] begins a border ballad.

It is an old saying, and not devoid of truth, that the gods denied to Spain one only blessing, a good government. Peoples probably get the government they deserve, and the extreme individualism of the Spaniard, producing an apathy in the face of organized society that is the despair of reformers, steadily refuses to believe that mere legislation can affect his fate. He does not object to politics; they simply leave him cold. His practical philosophy is stoicism, expounded by a Spaniard, Seneca, who need not have gone outside Spain to formulate it. The true good of man lies within, in the knowledge of self that raises one above external events. Should they prove overpowering, the remedy is still in one's own hands, and Seneca's departure from life was head-high.

Seneca was born in Córdoba, but Andalusia was not formed till centuries later, and his doctrine might well have come from the heart of Castile. Yet there is no real antithesis between it and the frame of mind we associate with southern Spain. Unamuno may belittle the idea of a Moorish civilization, and it is true that the concrete visible results of a stay of eight centuries are surprisingly few. The Arabs gave to Spain a less tangible legacy, but something that speaks of a new value come into European life. It was a new creed, subordinating material gains to the pleasures of the senses, stressing the faith that this world can be a pleasant place when Time has fallen from his throne and become our servant, urging that the inscrutable future be left to work out the preconceived pattern of Allah while men's eyes feast only on what is beautiful in the present. In an age when the rest of Europe was obsessed by the conception of this existence as a dreary preparation for the next, the Arabs had brought to Spain a sense of the beauty and the joy of life. It is the conviction of the persistence of that sense, grafted on to the background of stoicism and personal dignity, that justifies one's belief in Spain to-day.

'The Spaniard's onslaught in battle', wrote Chateaubriand, 'is irresistible, but having once dislodged the enemy from his position, he is content to sit down, cigarette in mouth, guitar in hand, to celebrate the victory.' This supreme gift of detachment, which despises time, money, all our customary symbols

[1] 'Caballeros granadinos, aunque moros hijosdalgo' (the last word means literally 'sons of something').

of well-being, is the very antithesis of the spirit that informs our present age, but it is the distinctive feature of a land ' where peace comes dropping slow '. ' Spain is an absurd country ', to quote once more from Ganivet, ' and metaphysically impossible ; absurdity is its nerve and mainstay. Its turn to prudence will denote the end.' [1]

Yet Spain is not all vain imagination. If its head is in the clouds, its feet are very firmly on the earth. Realism, by which is meant not the search for the lurid and the ugly, but the acceptance of things as they are, suppressing nothing, explaining away nothing, is everywhere. Santa Teresa, who finds God no less among the saucepans than in the mystic trance ; Murillo, turning from portraits of monks to depict ragamuffins ; Don Quixote, the idealist who has in Sancho Panza not an antagonist but a necessary complement : all tell us that one rises above the trivial and the mean not by ignoring but by understanding. Spanish literature begins on a note of realism. Compare the *Poema de Mío Cid* with the *Chanson de Roland*. The latter abounds in romantic and idealistic incidents. The hero of the former would have laughed in his grave to think that Philip II would one day petition to have him canonized, for he was a thoroughgoing freebooter whose patriotism was more than suspect and who chuckled as he borrowed money from the Jews Raquel and Vidas on the security of treasure-chests filled with sand. And no literary genre is so *castizo*, so genuinely Spanish, as the picaresque novel, the romance of roguery. But realism in Spain is tempered always by kindness and comprehension ; there can be no sting of bitterness for him who feels himself independent of the world. It has been noted that of the hundreds of characters who people *Don Quixote* not one is wholly bad or unreservedly frowned on by Cervantes. Yet the life of Cervantes was not laid in soft places.

From this firm basis, then, of fact, and not out of mere impracticality, springs the apparently superficial light-heartedness of the Spaniard. With more than a tinge of fatalism he can accept the present and await the future undismayed. What happens now has happened before and will happen again, and out of that vast fund of accumulated if uncoördinated philosophy to be found in his store of proverbs something will suggest itself to meet the case. No buffetings of fate can avail against ' There will be another day to-morrow '.[2] 'Patience and re-shuffle ' [3] is

[1] ' España es una nación absurda y metafísicamente imposible, y el absurdo es su nervio y su principal sostén. Su cordura será la señal de su acabamiento.'—*El Porvenir de España*, p. 83.

[2] ' Mañana será otro día.' [3] ' Paciencia y barajar.'

optimism in its essence. A group of peasants, carrying great bundles wrapped in newspapers and bandanna handkerchiefs, boarded a train at a tiny station between Granada and Antequera. They lacked alike hats, collars and coats, and wore coarse shirts and breeches and cord sandals. One would have said they were bound for the next station for market day. Yet their destination was Buenos Aires. 'And when will you be back?' 'Perhaps never, perhaps next year. Who knows?'

Such casual acceptance of life's problems lay behind the greatness of Spain's golden age. *Ne plus ultra*, the ancients had said when they came to the pillars of Hercules. Charles V proudly blotted out the negative: *Plus ultra*. There was more beyond, there always is more beyond for the unshackled adventurer. Hernán Cortés on the shore of a new continent wrecked his boats and challenged the unknown; and having won his way with a handful of men into the heart of a hostile empire and into the presence of a mighty monarch, 'it seemed good', he writes home to his king, 'in the royal interest and for our own safety that that monarch should be in our power'.[1] And that idea he immediately translated into action, leaving Montezuma a close prisoner in his own capital.

As *conquistadores* they were supreme; the problems of constructive colonization showed their weakness. Boundless energy in the thrill of action, great moments of vision 'silent upon a peak in Darien', but scant patience for the routine task of consolidation, of reasoning, of laborious study. Spain's greatest authors have been men of intensely active life who have done things and forborne to theorize. Their drama is essentially one of improvization, born of contact with mankind. Lope de Vega was at pains to show that he knew all the rules and unities of the art of making plays, though he never applied them. His excuse, 'for since the man in the street pays for them it is only fair to address him as a fool to give him pleasure',[2] is not so naïve as it may seem. The plain man, informed by a sense, however unconscious, of what is true to experience, will respond to the genuine and the durable in art with a surer criterion than any evolved by the pedant in his study.

The genius of Spain is to a striking degree creative rather than critical. Criticism implies the recognition of a corpus of

[1] 'Me pareció . . . que convenía al real servicio y a nuestra seguridad que aquel señor estuviese en mi poder.'—*Carta Segunda de Relación*, 1520.

[2] 'Porque, como las paga el vulgo, es justo
hablarle en necio para darle gusto.'
—*Arte Nuevo de Hazer Comedias*, 1609.

authority, of norms of conduct, of schools, a long preoccupation with facts *qua* facts. Against all such the Spaniard instinctively rebels. Of what should be an exact science he will make something essentially personal. History, for example, as dealing with the ways of man to man, he has always cultivated, but it has become in his hands an art. The *Estoria de Espanna* undertaken by Alfonso the Wise began with the creation of the world, and down the ages seized with a rare instinct on the human, the eternal aspect of men and events. The achievements of Nero the Emperor fade before the account of his prowess in the art of singing, his exercises in voice production as he lay flat with a heavy sheet of lead on his chest, his recitals before an intimidated audience. When Almanzor (Al-Mansur), greatest of Arab generals, ended his long career of campaigning against the north, the monkish chronicler put a personal and very sincere touch into his epitaph: 'In 1002 died Almanzor, and was buried in hell.' And Mariana, first of Spanish historians, is quite frank as to his methods. 'I put down more than I believe', he says, and seeing no reason why legends should not have their crumb of truth he allows them, too, to contribute to the panegyric of his country. The study of man's record is humanized in Spain. Mere facts are only important in the light of the individual reaction to them, and so are always changing and always averse to systematization. The history of Spain's literature was written by an Englishman, that of its drama by a German.

The results of this lack of continuous application, of rigorous impersonal thought, are apparent in every manifestation of the Spanish genius. Its outstanding achievements are of the nature of sudden flashes of inspiration, brilliant conceptions marred by mediocre development and faulty judgment in detail. The idea underlying Calderón's *Life is a Dream* (*La Vida es Sueño*) is of the noblest in literature, the struggle between free-will and predestination, the victory of reason over the unchained passions and appetites of man in his natural state, the vanity of earthly pomp and power; but its flaws are obvious to any tyro in letters, and its ending is forced. One often, indeed, gains the impression that the playwright, conscious the allotted time is up, throws verisimilitude to the winds, and rounds off his plot as readily with a spate of murders as with impossible marriages. Who is he to say that the matter ends there, or to dare to write *Finis* to any human action? Life itself does not end things, for there is a beyond, and the belief enables him cheerfully to style the blackest tragedy a *comedia*.

It is a notable revelation on the road to self-knowledge that

things are not what they seem. There is a double truth, that of the immediate historical detail and that of the poetic whole. The first is static, isolated, of doubtful import in the pattern of existence. The second is the larger vision that supplies a faith whereby man may live. Spanish literature to most foreigners means Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and Calderón's *Life is a Dream*. Both are symbols of the Spanish people, and both are symbols of this latter truth of the imagination. One does not shut one's eyes to the former, but one goes further. 'That which I plainly perceive to be Mambrino's helmet', Don Quixote informs Sancho, 'seems to thee to be only a barber's basin, and perhaps another man may take it to be something else.' [1] But basins and windmills led Sancho nowhere, whereas helmets and giants were stages in the career of Spain's greatest *conquistador*, one who discovered not new countries for Spain but Spain to herself. And in the end Sancho was converted.

The quest must be a lonely one, and in the long run facts are stubborn things. Crusades independent of facts ask for disaster in the eyes of the world, and Don Quixote, who for centuries has made the world laugh, recognized as he lay on his death-bed that he had been a tragic failure. His 'the immortal sadness of being divine'.[2] But true greatness is revealed in defeat, and the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance, in following the gleam, saved his own soul, if all else was lost. 'Hic jacet pulvis, cinis, nihil' is the legend over the tomb of an Archbishop in Toledo Cathedral. With the realization of the futility of material ambition the door is opened to the greater issues of man in his relation to eternity.

Eight centuries it took Spain to drive out the Muslim and make herself mistress in her own house, and four more were necessary to convince her that she should stay at home. Spaniards since 1898 are concerned for the prestige of their country in the scale of progressive nations, and full of theories. Unamuno would have Spain turn its back on a past of fantastic chivalry and become Europeanized with all haste. Ganivet maintained that the country must look south, to Africa, for its future. Perhaps it is not the true *rôle* of Spain ever again to loom large in international affairs, but rather simply to proceed along its own path of proud, impractical individualism, a standing reminder

[1] 'Y así, eso que a ti te parece bacía de barbero, me parece a mí el yelmo de Mambrino, y a otro le parecerá otra cosa.'—*Don Quixote*, I, 25.

[2] 'La tristeza inmortal de ser divino.'—Rubén Darío, *Soneto a Cervantes*.

of the value of man as man. But who can map out a nation's destiny? 'What are you painting?' inquired Don Quixote of one he saw busy with brush and canvas. 'That is as it may turn out', was the answer.

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CHAPTER II

SPANISH HISTORY TO 1492

THE influence of geographical conditions upon the course of Spanish history and upon the development of Spanish nationality is clearly perceptible. Spain stands in isolation from Europe and is divided within itself. Entirely surrounded by the Atlantic and Mediterranean waters, except where the Pyrenees separate it from France, the peninsula is also divided by mountain ranges into four regions : the narrow strip of coast-line on the north, the Mediterranean coast provinces, the southern province of Andalusia from Cádiz to Granada, and the great central plateau, which again is subdivided by the Guadarrama and Oretana mountains and separated from Andalusia by the Sierra Morena. Differences in altitude cause climatic differences, which have had their effect upon the history of the country ; the rapidity of the slope from the interior to the sea, which is greater on the East than on the West, makes river navigation almost impossible, except for short distances from the coast ; while the torrential rains which alternate with seasons of drought often cause disastrous floods. On the other hand, the coastal regions are remarkably fertile, especially in the East and South ; the mineral wealth of the peninsula has been famous from the earliest historical times.

To these facts are due in some degree the peculiar individuality of the Spanish people and also the differences between local populations ; the tendency to ' regionalism ' and the reluctance to combine during the earlier centuries may thus be partially explained. Foreign influence naturally became most potent in the fertile coast districts of the East and South, while the harder conditions of life in the mountainous centre and North produced a more virile type of character.

The primitive populations of Spain are a subject rather for the ethnologist than for the historian. The first people of whom we hear in ancient history were the **Iberians**, and of them we know little more than of their predecessors, among whom the Cromagnon type appears to have predominated. Whether

they were the progenitors of the Basques, whether the latter preserve and continue their language, what were their relations with the **Celts** who followed them, and what ethnological significance belongs to the term 'Celtiberian', are questions to which no certain answer is available. The Roman historians appear to use the term 'Celtiberian' as a generic name for the native populations of the country, of whom as individual tribes they knew very little. Their descriptions represent the native Spaniard as a brave and hardy enemy, contemptuous of danger and pain, *prodiga gens animae*, generous and ready to forgive, but no less ready to avenge an insult or a wrong; politically an individualist, inclined to separatism, not easy to lead and impossible to drive. This race gave the Romans more trouble than any other native race within the Empire, and from them the Roman tacticians are said to have borrowed the famous short sword and the *pilum* or heavy spear of the legionary.

After Iberians and Celts came **Phœnicians,** who established numerous coastal settlements and were attracted in the first instance by the mineral wealth of the country. Cádiz, Málaga, Seville and Córdoba were Phœnician trading centres, but their posts have been discovered on nearly all the coasts of Spain; their Tartessus, perhaps the Tarshish of the Bible, has disappeared from the mouth of the Guadalquivir, if that were its position. The Phœnicians, who are said to have entered Spain in the eleventh century, were followed by the **Greeks**, who made their first voyage to Spain in 630 B.C. These, according to Herodotus, were Phocians, and were followed by Rhodians; they settled on the East coast, where Rosas and Ampurias yet recall their Greek titles and provide specimens of the earliest known Spanish coins; the famous Saguntum, afterwards Murviedro, situated further south, was also a Greek colony. The Greeks are said to have introduced the vine and the olive into the peninsula, an important contribution to its agricultural wealth. Towards the end of the fifth century B.C. the Phœnicians invited their relatives, the **Carthaginians,** to help them in a quarrel with the native Spaniards, and the new-comers found the coast settlements so much to their liking that they remained and by degrees entirely ousted the Phœnician colonists. These were all commercial enterprises, the promoters of which clung to the coast-line for the most part and made little effort to penetrate to the interior of the peninsula or to subdue any part of its population.

A new policy was begun by Hamilcar Barca, after the First Punic War, which ended in 242 B.C., with the Roman conquest

of Sicily. He considered that Spain might be made a counterpoise to the Italian peninsula and become a suitable base of operations from which to attack Rome and restore Carthaginian supremacy in the Mediterranean, a policy followed by his son-in-law Hasdrubal and his son Hannibal. Southern and Eastern Spain were thus brought under Carthaginian influence and Hannibal's siege of Saguntum turned the attention of Roman historians to this part of the world. Our information upon Spanish affairs thus becomes increasingly detailed with the period of Scipio Africanus, who arrived in the country in 209 B.C. and completed the defeat of the Carthaginians, after which event Spain became a country of first-rate importance to Rome.

The history of the struggles of **Rome** with the native populations from this time to 38 B.C., when Cæsar's genius secured a pacification, is far from creditable to Roman statesmanship, and is, in any case, a subject belonging rather to the colonial history of Rome than to the history of Spain. The exploits of Viriatus anticipated those of Pelayo or of Zumalacárregui, the siege of Numantia that of Zaragoza, while Sertorius showed that Hamilcar's idea of an independent Spain was no visionary project. It was left for Augustus Cæsar to consolidate the Roman power in Spain and to pacify the country; the success of his efforts is perpetuated in the names of several towns, Astorga (Asturica Augusta), León (Urbs Septimae Legionis), Zaragoza (Cæsarea Augusta); Badajoz (Paz Augusta) especially testifies to the beneficence of his administration.

Modern Spanish is, in certain respects, nearer to Latin even than modern Italian, and the complete romanization of the country which produced this and other results, was effected during the four centuries which followed the reign of Augustus Cæsar. Spain became a part of the Empire no less important than Gaul. Spanish soldiers were as highly esteemed as were Spanish poets or rhetoricians; Spanish corn was no less valuable to Rome than Egyptian. Cicero himself could find nothing more derogatory to say of the poets of Córdoba than that their style displayed 'pingue quiddam atque peregrinum'; Ovid, Mæcenas and Augustus himself owed something to the teaching of Marcus Porcius Latro, a native of Córdoba. In subsequent centuries Spain produced administrators, rulers and literary men of the highest rank; the emperors Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius were Spaniards, and to their days belong the high roads, the bridges and aqueducts which still arouse the admiration of the traveller. The two Senecas and Lucan, the nephew of the elder, belonged to Córdoba; Pomponius Mela,

the geographer, was from Algeciras ; Columella, the agriculturist, from Cádiz ; Martial was born near Calatayud and returned to die there ; Quintilian's home was at Calahorra.

In A.D. 406, the **Barbarians** at length broke down the crumbling defences of the Roman Empire, and Suevians, Alans and Vandals entered and ravaged Spain. The question is often asked, how it was that they met with so little resistance in a country which had for years defied successfully the power of Rome in her prime ; it is a question that recurs at the time of the Muslim conquest. But in this instance the answer is not far to seek. To begin with, the fighting power of the country had disappeared. Spain had given her best to the legions of Rome and Rome had scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth. From the farthest limit of Northern Britain, where Spanish legions kept the Roman wall against the Picts, to the provinces upon the Danube, where Spanish-spoken Latin survives as Roumanian, the Spanish soldier had fought and died. His own country had seen no fighting for four centuries, and the feeble garrison that sufficed for the preservation of order in this, the most peaceable of provinces, was not composed of Spaniards, but of degenerate provincials, who could not be trusted in posts of danger upon the outskirts of the empire. The population of Spain was too largely composed of slaves and paupers : *latifundia perdidere Italiam*, said Pliny, and the explanation is applicable in part at least to Spain. The growth of large estates worked by slave labour, the expropriation of the small farmer and the demoralizing results of town slavery had rotted the manhood of the country. Those, moreover, who had anything to lose had groaned for years under an iniquitous and oppressive system of taxation ; of what use to be Roman citizens, if they had to pay dues as such, in addition to their taxes as provincials ? If they had in any case to support a horde of rapacious officials, no change could matter much, and any change might be for the better. The native Spaniard had little for which to fight, and less inclination to fight for it.

It has been suggested that Christianity should be reckoned among the influences which weakened the resisting power of Roman Spain. The most that can be said is that some attention which might have been concentrated upon politics was diverted to ecclesiastical and theological questions and affairs. Christianity gained an early footing in Spain ; the rapidity of its dissemination and the number of important churchmen which it produced prefigure the earnestness and devotion, if not the bigotry and fanaticism, of later centuries. In Spain, a few

years before the Council of Nicea, was held the first Christian Council of whose proceedings any record has been preserved. Among the bishops then present was the famous Hosius of Córdoba, one of the chief friends and supporters of Athanasius in his struggle against Arianism. Priscillian elaborated the heresy known by his name, and was executed as a heretic by Maximus, himself a Spaniard, in the year 384. At that time Prudentius, chief of the Christian poets of the age, had produced the greater part of his works, from which much of our information upon the social life and manners of Spain in the fourth century is derived. But there is no evidence that the Spanish church then exerted the important influence upon the government of the country which it certainly enjoyed under the Gothic kings.

The **Visigothic rule** is usually stated to have extended from 415 to 755, during which period thirty-five kings are named. Thirteen of these died violent deaths and the fact that ten of these deaths took place before 555 is sufficient to show the unsettled nature of the early Visigothic period, when Franks, Alans, Suevians, Vandals and Huns attempted to secure dominion in various parts of the old Roman empire, while religious dissension upon the Arian question was superadded to other causes of discord. This latter trouble was removed by the conversion of Reccared, the first of the Catholics. The labours of some few predecessors, especially those of Leovgild, had gradually welded the disparate elements of Spanish society into something homogeneous; intermarriage between Roman and Goth, if nominally forbidden by law until 652, was none the less frequent; Roman civilization had profoundly modified Gothic nationalism, and Reccared saw that Arianism was not likely to survive in Spain.

There were, however, more immediate reasons for a conversion to orthodox Catholicism; the Gothic monarchy was elective; the elector nobles were inclined to regard their nominee rather as their agent than as their ruler, and at the time of Reccared's accession, they had become wealthy, turbulent and disloyal. It was not possible for the king to solve the problem as Isabel afterwards did, by turning to the towns for popular support; the small farmer class had almost disappeared and the middle and lower classes were generally in a state of serfdom. The one power that could be used to check the aggression of the nobles was the Church. After the ground had been prepared by previous negotiation and argument, the change of faith was formally announced at the Third Council of Toledo in 589, and the bulk of the people accepted it. The result was the trans-

ference of political power and influence from the nobles to the Church. In 633 the Fourth General Council of Toledo assumed the right of confirming the king's election to the throne and claimed to assert that right in the case of his successors; the Church could and did use the weapon of excommunication against recalcitrant rulers.

From the fourth century the Church had continued to acquire the privileges and the wealth which afterwards made it a power in the land. During the Roman period, exemptions from taxation were allowed and some legal privileges conceded; inheritances could be received and monastic life began. The Church here, as in other provinces of the Empire, was organized upon the basis of Roman law and administration, a system which persisted under Gothic rule. The title of Archbishop does not appear in Spain until the year 1085; the head of the Spanish Church was the metropolitan bishop of Seville or of Toledo, after the removal of the capital from Seville. Bishops were appointed by the king, and, in his absence, by the chief metropolitan. The country was divided into five provinces, each with a provincial metropolitan bishop, and the number of episcopal sees amounted to some eighty. The diocese of those days was in the nature of one large parish and tithes were paid directly to the bishop. Thus, when the Church became the king's counterpoise to the nobles, the influence of such bishops as Leander of Seville and his younger and more famous brother, Isidore, was almost unbounded. Isidore was a student as well as a statesman; there were few subjects under heaven upon which he did not write, and his 'Etymologies' range from disquisitions upon metaphysics to directions for shipbuilding, while his History of the Goths is an important authority for the events of this period. His work was continued by his pupil Ildefonso, an administrator and writer, who enjoyed the privilege of a personal visit from the Blessed Virgin, which has secured his continued veneration by the Spanish Church.

With the conversion of Reccared (586–601) and the consequent supremacy of Church influence, an unhappy period began for the Jews. Considerable numbers of Jews had settled in Spain and under the Roman Empire had enjoyed equal rights with all other citizens. When Constantine recognized Christianity, Jews were forbidden to have dealings with Christians in the Spanish peninsula, as in other countries, but persecution was not considered necessary. After the year 600, a complete change of policy was begun. Compulsory baptism was enforced upon Jews, and persecution was avoided only by those who

escaped to the South of France, where there were large settlements of their co-religionists. Until the Muslim invasion began, the Jews were continually harried by the relentless intolerance of the Church: they might hold no public office; their children were to be educated in convents or in Christian families; mixed marriages were declared void; and relapse, after even compulsory baptism, was mercilessly punished. Jewish festivals were prohibited; the evidence of Jews was not accepted in courts of law; and such a king as Witiza, who succeeded to the throne in 701 and treated the Jews with tolerance, while attempting to restrain the immorality of his own clergy, was held up to later generations as a heretical and licentious monster. If there be any truth in the accusation that the Jews, like the Moriscos of later times, were conspiring with their brethren in Africa and with the Muslim to overthrow the Visigothic rule in Spain, some excuse for their action can be found.

The Visigoths had fallen under the influence of Roman civilization even before they reached Spain, and, after their settlement in the country, the process of their romanization continued. Their own language fell out of use and Latin became the current vernacular. Roman administrative organization and methods were retained. The Visigothic noble often preferred to live on his own estate with his following of servants and retainers; town life was not, therefore, greatly increased or modified during this period. The military power of these nobles was the chief check to royal absolutism. Various attempts to make the throne hereditary were failures, and the king was assisted by deliberative councils of nobles and bishops. But, as he appointed the bishops, summoned the nobles and could veto the proceedings of the council, he had every opportunity of securing his own wishes. One positive contribution to Spanish civilization was made by the Visigoths,—their legal codes. Many of their kings were energetic legislators and they appear to have had as much respect for law as the Romans themselves. The Breviarium of Alaric II, prepared shortly before his death in 506, became the nucleus of additions made by successive rulers, until Chindaswinth established a code which reconciled the differences between Gothic and Roman law; this was revised by his son, Reccaswinth, and promulgated as the Lex Visigothorum; it became of much importance in future centuries, when it was known as the Fuero Juzgo.

In 711 came the **Muslim invasion.** A small band of Arab marauders crossed the straits between Africa and Spain at the

spot where the town of Tarifa recalls the name of their leader. Seven years later, the Arabs were masters of the whole country with the exception of a few districts in the mountainous regions of the North. Subsequent generations, unable to account for the rapidity of this success, surrounded it with accretions of legend, and the collapse of the Goths was ascribed as much to Roderic's disregard of prophecy and tradition as to the treachery of Count Julian. It is likely enough that some one of the many quarrels between king and nobles provided the Arabs with their initial opportunity; the degeneracy of the Gothic government supplies an adequate explanation of the rapidity of their conquest. The royal court was corrupt; the majority of the nobles were selfish and idle; there was no bond of unity, no feudal tie between the upper and lower classes; commerce and industry were undeveloped in the absence of incentive to personal effort. Three centuries of peace, undisturbed except by the occasional turbulence of refractory nobles, had produced forgetfulness of the arts of war, and too large a share of political control was exerted by the Church. There was, in short, no sense of nationalism; the noble was not loyal to the Crown; the peasant was, at best, a serf, with little to lose by a change of masters.

Thus the Arabs overran the peninsula without meeting any serious opposition. When Tarīfa had shown the way and its possibilities, Tārik came with an army and reached Toledo, where he was joined by Mūsā, and the conquest was advanced to Barcelona and the Pyrenees. Their careers were cut short by the Muslim Caliph, who placed Abd ar-Rahman in command of Spain, to rule as emir under the governor of Africa, who was himself subject to the Caliphate at Damascus. The Arabs proceeded to invade Southern France, until they were checked by the great defeat of their co-religionists before Constantinople in 718, by the victory of Charles Martel near Tours in 732 and by dissensions among their leaders and among the aspirants to the Damascus Caliphate.

The political connection between Arab Spain and Africa was loose; nor was that between Africa and Damascus much closer. The several Muslim tribes and nations were often at variance among themselves, and though they admitted a nominal suzerainty on the part of Damascus, the only real bond of union was their religious faith and their belief in the brotherhood of all true believers. The conquest of Spain was not undertaken upon any preconcerted plan; it was the outcome of a marauding raid, and the settlement of Spain was constantly disturbed by rivalries and factions fostered in Africa and often stimulated by the

Muslim priests. Berbers, Syrians, Egyptians and Arabs all required satisfaction, which was eventually attained by settling the various tribes in the districts which most nearly resembled their native environment. The government remained in the hands of the ruling race, the Syrians of Damascus. It was not until the tenth century that the civilization somewhat vaguely known as Moorish was firmly established and that its cultural achievements became possible.

This government made no attempt to crush the conquered, and the Moors in this respect repeated the policy of the Visigoths. Apart from some sporadic outbreaks of persecution, the Moors respected the religion, the rights and even the property of the Spanish population; Christians retained their churches and were able to celebrate daily Mass under the countenance of the Muslim authorities; living among Muslims, they were known as Mozárabes or Mozarabs, and the Mozarabic ritual was not replaced by the Roman until 1071; the only burden upon them was a small annual poll-tax. The subject population was certainly better off than it had been under the nobles and ecclesiastics, who had taken refuge in the northern districts. The Jews, who had perhaps suggested and had certainly welcomed the invasion, were not only tolerated but were distinguished by the consideration of the new rulers. Many Christians became Muhammadans, either to escape the poll-tax or to gain liberation from slavery, and formed the class known as *renegados* or *muladíes*. The new government took one-fifth of the land and distributed the rest among its adherents; its own holding was allotted to Spanish cultivators who paid rent on the metayer system: the large estates were thus broken up and agriculture was improved in consequence.

For the first forty years after the Muslim invasion, some twenty emirs held the power in Spain at different times and with varying success. Progress and stability began with the reign of Abd ar-Rahman I (755–788), a member of the Ommeyad dynasty, who had escaped from the disturbances which had overthrown the Ommeyads and brought the Abbaside family into power. Abd ar-Rahman had to spend some years in struggle before the various tribes in Spain and the Abbaside rulers now established in Bagdad would recognize his authority; but he succeeded in establishing his ideal of an absolute monarchy at Córdoba, which put an end to inter-tribal anarchy and strife. In his reign occurred the expedition of Charlemagne, who advanced as far as Zaragoza and was attacked during his retreat by the Basques in the pass of Roncesvalles, an event which pro-

vided the theme of the famous *Chanson de Roland*. Abd ar-Rahman did much for the adornment of Córdoba and the building of the great mosque was begun during his reign (see p. 213). Nine emirs or caliphs of Córdoba succeeded him and continued his dynasty until 1012, when a period of anarchy began which lasted until 1094. Of these nine, the most distinguished was Abd ar-Rahman III (912–961), who established peace in Spain under his absolute rule, created a navy as well as an army, and made the Caliphate of Córdoba respected as one of the most powerful and highly cultured states in Europe. Succeeding rulers became weaker and weaker ; palace intrigues, the government of favourites, religious dissension and the increasing energy of the Christian States in the North undermined their authority. A strong hand was needed to check the separatism of the several tribes, and the old Arab aristocracy was completely outnumbered. The end of this period saw Muslim Spain divided into a number of petty kingdoms, in a state of continual internecine warfare, while the Christian power advanced as far as Toledo.

The Muslim State was based upon monarchy absolute and hereditary. The Caliph was aided by various ministers of state (vizirs), while the several provinces were under governors (walis) with subordinate officials of their own. The judicature was well organized with judges for ordinary and extraordinary cases. The Koran was the only existing code of law and confusion between religious and civil law was the result. Religious toleration was the rule ; the aristocratic Arab appears to have been somewhat indifferentist, but the mass of the people were believers to the point of fanaticism. Such persecution as occurred was provoked by Christian defiance. The religious class were the leaders in the work of education which was highly esteemed by the people in general ; there was no system of public instruction and schools were carried on by private enterprise ; but there were few illiterates, and women could enjoy all the educational opportunities open to men. The Arabs introduced paper as the material of books instead of parchment, and books were comparatively cheap and numerous.

Through this civilization Greek culture was reintroduced to Western Europe ; the Arabs had become acquainted with the Greek classical writers and with Greek philosophy through the Byzantine Empire and the populations of Asia and Egypt ; mathematics and medicine were especially advanced, though the chief results in learning were attained after the fall of the Caliphate. Poetry was universally popular, especially love-poetry ; the extent of its influence upon early Spanish poetry

is still a matter of controversy. In the tenth century Muslim Spain was hardly exceeded by any country in Europe for wealth and culture ; the descriptions of Córdoba given by the chroniclers approach the fabulous, but, when allowance is made for exaggeration, the city was undoubtedly a centre of magnificence. The great mosque is the most famous remnant of these glories, most of which have completely vanished. These developments were made possible by the improvements introduced into agriculture and the greater stimulus given to its pursuit. New products, sugar, rice and the pomegranate were established and much work was done by irrigation to increase the fertility of the soil, especially in Valencia and Murcia. Stock-breeding and mining were encouraged and new industries were started,—wool and silk weaving, glass-blowing, paper-making, the manufacture of weapons, leather work of various kinds and marble. Overseas commerce was vigorous, especially in the Mediterranean ; the Caliphs had a considerable navy, and Seville, Málaga and Almería became the chief centres of their trade.

The historians of Spain have always regarded the mountains of Asturias as the point where the scattered remnants of the defeated Christians collected for resistance to the invader. They elected one **Pelayo** (**718–737**) to succeed to the throne of Roderic ; the capital of the new king was at Cangas de Onís, near Oviedo, and in 718 he and his followers won a victory over the Muslims in the valley of Covadonga. Legend has naturally exaggerated the event ; but if the hero and his thirty followers in their cave did not destroy a hostile army of 400,000 men, there is no doubt that they won a victory which secured the Christians in the possession of their little kingdom.

In later years, the Reconquest was represented by popes, troubadours and chroniclers as a crusade ; if it occasionally assumed that form and was at times inspired by a crusading spirit, such was by no means its first beginning nor its invariable continuation. Pelayo, his nobles and bishops, and their immediate successors fought to recover their lands and to re-establish their authority in Spain, and these struggles were not necessarily racial or religious. In times of peace, we find members of Christian states trading and intermarrying with Muslims, and Christian princesses were thus united to Muslim princes ; Muslim towns were full of Christians, not only of Mozárabes, but of casual immigrants who came to trade or take service in the Muslim armies ; cases are found of Christians and Moors fighting side by side against other Christians, and even against their own countrymen.

The work of reconquest was facilitated by the civil wars and internal quarrels of the Muslims and was retarded by the same causes operating among the Christian States; the antagonism between king and nobles which had existed during the Visigothic period was continued. The line of the Douro may be regarded as the southern frontier of the Christian power during this period, though it was not definitely held. It was not until the eleventh century that an advance in some spirit of nationalism began. To the east of Asturias was the little state of Navarre, which had its origin in the independent spirit of the Basques, who maintained some sort of autonomy against both the Frankish kings and the Muslim invaders; the chroniclers ascribe the foundation of the State of Aragon to the same causes; its name and history were confused with those of Navarre for some time to come. The modern province of Catalonia was overrun by the Muslims who invaded Southern France by that route; but the Frankish kings were able to drive the invaders back and to establish a Spanish mark, ruled by counts nominally subject to the Frankish monarchy. Among these the counts of Barcelona became pre-eminent and one of them is said to have made himself independent in 874; the southern progress of Barcelona was blocked by the independent Muslim State which centred about Zaragoza.

Thus little progress was made until the fall of the Caliphate. **Alfonso I,** the Catholic (**739–757**), and **Alfonso II,** the Chaste (**791–842**), were the most successful kings during the first century after the Muslim invasion. In the course of their raids upon the enemy they were able to bring back many Christians from the conquered territory and so to re-populate their own kingdom. Alfonso II transferred the capital to Oviedo. Various legends arose about this time which have an importance for their influence upon literature as indicating the formation of a sense of nationalism; to Roland and Roncesvalles we have already referred; Bernardo del Carpio appears as the typical noble, intolerant of foreign interference and resolved to maintain his own independence. Finally, the body of the Apostle St. James was miraculously discovered to a Galician shepherd and Santiago de Compostela was founded, which became the most important place of pilgrimage in Western Europe; a steadily increasing stream of pilgrims from all parts brought foreign influences and ideas into Spain, a trade in objects of piety sprang up, and Spain was provided once for all with a patron saint and a war-cry. But until the Caliphate began to totter, not much was done to advance the southern frontier. The Christian kingdom was divided

against itself; Galicia declined to acknowledge the supremacy of the Asturian kingdom; the eastern part of the kingdom, known as Castile, from its numerous castles, had repeatedly shown a tendency to separatism, and in the reign of **Ramiro II (930–950)** Count Fernán González took the lead and was able to make Castile, with Burgos as its capital, a province independent of León and Oviedo.

The civil wars which thus ended weakened the conquering power and inclination of the Christian States, and nobles and kings did not hesitate upon occasion to apply to the Muslim monarchs for aid against their own compatriots. Early in the eleventh century, however, a movement southwards began. Alfonso V (999–1027) and his uncle, **Sancho the Great (1000–1035)**, respectively advanced from León and Navarre, and after the death of his nephew, Sancho succeeded in making himself master of Castile and León. He thus became ruler of all Northern Spain, with the exception of Galicia and Catalonia. Any prospects of union, for which Spain was hardly ready, were destroyed by his will; he divided his kingdom among his sons, and Navarre, Aragon and Castile thus became independent units. Navarre lost its influence in a dismal succession of family quarrels, plots and assassinations, and its history is merged in that of Aragon and Castile. The King of León, Bermudo III, was killed in battle in 1037, and, as his line was extinct, **Ferdinand I (1037–1065)**, King of Castile, the second son of Sancho the Great, succeeded to León; a period of civil war left him the most powerful of the Christian monarchs in Spain.

Spanish civilization is the resultant of two streams of influence which converge in the eleventh century. One of these was oriental, exerted by Muhammadans and Jews. The other was European and, in particular, French: the extent of this latter has hitherto been under-estimated by historians. French influence was both ecclesiastical and military; the monks of Cluny were invited to Spain by the King of Navarre, and after 1033 the effects of Cluniac influence are perceptible in Aragon, Catalonia and Castile; Menéndez Pidal has shown that legal documents down to the early part of the eleventh century reveal an increasing number of romance forms, when a sudden reversal to a more 'grammatical' style of Latinity occurs, and this fact he reasonably attributes to the influence of the Cluniac reforms. Boissonnade, again, has enumerated thirty-four expeditions, proceeding from France between 1018 and 1250, to support the Spanish states in their struggles against the infidels, of which 'crusades' fourteen belong to the eleventh

century, fifteen to the twelfth, and five to the thirteenth. The French *Chanson de Roland* was based upon an incident occurring in one of these expeditions, and the French influences perceptible in the composition of the *Poema del Cid* are easily explicable, if these facts are borne in mind. The majority of these expeditions were sent to support the states in the North-east of Spain, which were much more hardly pressed than were Castile and León. They had few natural resources; the ground they occupied was far from fertile; there was little sense of nationality, and Navarrese and Catalonians can be found fighting in the ranks of the Muslim while their princes make alliance with Muslim walis and emirs in furtherance of their own internecine quarrels. The career of the Cid Campeador is sufficient illustration of these conditions of life. While the collapse of the Cordoban Empire brought some relief to Castile and León, the powerful Muslim State of Zaragoza kept the north-eastern states continually on the alert. French action was thus not entirely disinterested.

The existence of the Muslim power so near the French frontiers in North-east Spain was a menace that could not be ignored; the Church was continually urging war against the infidel, and the prospects of adventure and booty were a strong attraction to the French chivalry of the period. Spain was regarded in the spirit of the sixteenth-century *conquistadores* advancing into the New World; a country of marvels, where salvation might be won by the sword, where there were rich towns, replete with all the wealth and luxury of the East, and where any competent soldier, dissatisfied with his prospects at home, could carve out a career for himself. With the warriors came not only the churchmen, but also farmers, merchants, artisans; the latter classes remained, when their superiors in the social scale declined permanent settlement, and went to increase the population of the towns and to provide Northern Spain with those elements of a stable and productive population which were much needed at that period.

It was during this time that the towns began to develop and to provide a counterpoise to the almost unlimited power of the nobles. The higher nobility and the Church might acquire lands for themselves, by conquest or other means, and rule them in almost complete independence of the Crown; the noble was not liable to taxation and might leave the service of his king for that of some other court. The king had, however, the right to grant and to withdraw titles of nobility. There was no feudal system, in the sense that land tenure implied an obligation to

military service ; but society was united by a system of dependency known as *encomienda*, whereby the lower class became retainers of the higher, giving military service in return for protection, or paying rents and duties. In theory, the artisan and labourer, as well as the noble, was free to break the connection and to commend himself to another lord, if he wished to do so ; in practice, the disturbed conditions of life made any such action extremely difficult, and many of the *encomendados* differ little in status from the serfs descended from the old *colonos*, who were transferred with the land upon a change of masters. While the king was the source of legislative, judicial and executive authority, and was absolute master of his own lands, he was by no means in control of his nobles. They raised their own troops, collected their own taxes, and fought as they pleased with one another and sometimes with the king. Bishops were in a similar position. These ecclesiastical or civil potentates had their own strong castles, from which they could defy the royal authority, and were often more ready to plunder their neighbours than to provide for the safety of those commended to them.

The king certainly retained powers of real importance ; he could, if circumstances allowed, proclaim his intention of appointing judges to any district, of revoking concessions already made ; he could summon an army to his standard ; he had the sole right of coining money. But these and other powers were not entirely adequate to deal with refractory nobles, and the kings gradually realized that a check upon seignorial license and a help in the establishment of order was to be gained from the towns. Many of these were founded in frontier districts exposed to the raids of the Muslims ; to attract population, and to please the people, the natural enemies of the nobles, kings granted special privileges to these towns or *villas* ; they might be exempted from the payment of taxes or be granted a measure of self-government which made them independent of the local governor. Such privileges were stated in a charter or *fuero* ; some of these became typical and were granted to new townships under their first names ; the *fuero* of Toledo, for instance, implied a number of privileges which were familiar to every one and enjoyed by towns of a later date. Some towns were places of refuge, within which slaves or escaped criminals recovered freedom. The *municipio*, thus begun, administered its own affairs in a general assembly or *consejo*, which appointed the executive officers. The authority of such a *villa* might extend beyond its walls to surrounding villages. Nobles might also grant *fueros*, but only with the consent of the king.

After 1031 the Caliphate of Córdoba was broken up into various petty states (*taifas*) which were constantly at war between themselves and from which Seville presently emerged as the most important. The Christian powers were therefore able to begin an advance which enabled them to reconquer the whole of the peninsula with the exception of the kingdom of Granada by 1248. During this period Spanish culture and civilization steadily improved. The kings gained more power as against the nobles. The towns and their citizens increased in numbers and resources. Two great kingdoms, Castile and Aragon, took definite form and were even able at times to act in concert against the common enemy, and some sense of nationality began to arise. Muslim civilization was still predominant ; many of its great scholars and writers then flourished ; some of them settled in Christian communities to avoid the troubles that beset their compatriots, and exerted a permanent influence upon Spanish life and thought. The rise of Portugal to independence during this period must also be noted.

Two revivals of the Muslim power delayed, but could not avert, the progress of the Christians. The ruler of Seville, Motamid, finding himself unable to make head against the forces of Castile, invited the help of the Almoravides, a fanatical Berber tribe. They crossed into Spain and defeated Alfonso VI in 1086, after which victory the Almoravide leader, Yusuf, returned to his own country, as he had promised the Spanish Muslim chiefs to do. Four years later he returned, whether on his own account or by invitation is not clear, defeated a Christian army and proceeded to make himself master of Southern Spain. The new government was at first energetically puritanical, and secured at any rate the observance of law and order ; but degeneracy soon set in, and as the central power grew weaker, *taifa* states began to reappear. But in 1125 a great religious upheaval took place in the Atlas mountains of Morocco, led by a Berber tribe who called themselves Almohades ; they invaded Spain in 1146, and speedily overran the old Muslim empire, which became a province of the Almohade empire with its capital in Africa. They drove out or destroyed the old Arab aristocracy, and vigorously renewed the war against the Christians, whom they utterly routed in the battle of Alarcos, near Badajoz, in 1195. However, in 1212, the united forces of Alfonso of Castile, Sancho of Navarre and Peter II of Aragon gained the great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, and the tide then definitely turned. The petty states fell one after another, either by internal quarrels or by Christian conquest, until nothing remained of the Muslim

power except the little State of Granada, which continued to hold out for some two hundred and fifty years longer.

Ferdinand I (1037–1065), who had made himself master of North-western Spain, followed the example of Sancho the Great at his death and subdivided his kingdom among his heirs. The result was a period of civil war, which left **Alfonso VI (1065–1109)** in power as King of Castile and León. He made Toledo a permanent possession and advanced into Valencia, until the Almoravides drove him back. Within his reign fell the exploits of the Cid, Ruy (or Rodrigo) Díaz of Bivar in the district of Burgos. He is first found fighting on the side of Sancho of Castile against Alfonso, and when Alfonso secured the throne, he found it advisable to show favour to Rodrigo and married him to Jimena Díaz, daughter of the Count of Oviedo and of royal blood. Rodrigo was then sent to collect the tribute due from the ruler of Seville and also to arrest García Ordóñez and other nobles who had attacked the King of Seville on behalf of the King of Granada. Rodrigo undertook some campaigning on his own account against Toledo, and Alfonso banished him in 1081. The Cid then took service with the Moorish king of Zaragoza and in the course of the next two years defeated several Catalan counts and the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramírez, who had attacked his master. He was then restored to Alfonso's favour and was in Castile in 1087 and 1088. Another quarrel led to a second banishment and the Cid returned to his former service against the Count of Barcelona, who eventually abandoned his claim to the protectorate of the Moorish lands and entrusted the responsibility of them to the Cid, who had won his confidence by his generosity in the moment of victory. The alliance was cemented by the marriage of the Count's cousin, Ramon Berenguer III, with the Cid's daughter María. Rodrigo then turned to the conquest of Valencia, which he captured in 1094, and held against the armies of the Almoravides; he extended his power over Almenara and Murviedro, and in 1089 was able to restore the diocese of Valencia to the Church. After his death in the following year, his wife held out for three years against the Moorish attacks, but was eventually obliged to apply for help to Alfonso, who brought her back to Castile with the body of her husband and destroyed Valencia, leaving the Moors to overrun the province.

The Cid has become the national hero of Spain; idealized by later generations as the leader of the Reconquest and as a brave and successful warrior, certain traits of character which a modern

purist might describe as avarice, cruelty and treachery were forgotten. Like Bernardo del Carpio and Fernán González, he appealed to the people as one who had successfully defied royal authority and maintained the personal independence which was highly valued alike by nobles and towns ; when royal authority became a stringent reality, these personalities were regarded as typical of the old free times.

Alfonso VI had no son and was succeeded by his daughter **Urraca,** whose reign (**1109–1126**) was a period of anarchy. Her sister, Teresa, had married Count Henry of Lorraine and to him Alfonso had granted some territory in the north of the modern Portugal, an incident worthy of note as the beginning of the Portuguese kingdom. The confusion of Urraca's reign enabled this pair to increase their holding and to consolidate their position ; Teresa's son, Affonso Enríquez, fought against the Moors with some success and secured his recognition as King in 1143. **Alfonso VII** (**1126–1157**), who styled himself emperor, succeeded Urraca and attained to considerable power ; he was able to secure the acknowledgment of his supremacy from Aragon, Barcelona, Toulouse and a number of other petty states, both Moorish and Christian. On his death in 1157, he divided his kingdom among his heirs and **Alfonso VIII** (**1158–1214**) entered into a troubled inheritance. He was an able ruler, fully equal to the occasion and when he had secured domestic peace he turned against the Muslim forces. Defeated in the battle of Alarcos, owing to the defection of the contingent from León, he was able eventually to organize a combined effort ; practically all Christian Spain was represented in the great army which defeated the Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 ; important foreign contingents were also present, including Englishmen.

The work of Alfonso VIII was continued by **Ferdinand III** (Fernando el Santo), his grandson (**1217–1252**), who conquered Córdoba, Murcia and Seville between 1236 and 1248 ; at the end of his reign the Moors were left with Granada alone as the remnant of their once great possessions. He also succeeded in finally incorporating the kingdom of León with that of Castile, on the death of his father, Alfonso IX of León, in 1230.

It was during this period that the three great military Orders were founded, possibly upon the model of similar organizations that the Moors maintained to protect their frontiers and their pilgrims and certainly under the example of the monastic Orders established during the Crusades for the protection of the Holy Land. The Templars were already in Spain, and were entrusted by Alfonso VIII with the defence of Calatrava, a fortress on the

border of Andalusia ; on the death of Alfonso the advance of the Almohades obliged them to retire ; Sancho III offered the place to anyone who would undertake its defence, and two Cistercian monks successfully attempted the adventure in 1158 ; they raised a force of volunteers (Church and State giving them money and lands), drove back the Moors and distinguished themselves at Las Navas de Tolosa. The earliest in date, they were probably the least important of the three great Orders, but they maintained their ground until 1587, when Philip II appropriated their revenues and extinguished their independence. More distinguished and far more wealthy was the Order of Santiago, which came into existence about 1161, when certain outlaws in the territory of León were converted to a religious life ; they turned their predatory energies against the infidel with such success that eventually the Archbishop of Santiago incorporated them under his own spiritual leadership as an Order of Knights. They rapidly amassed lands and wealth and at the end of the fifteenth century were the richest of these three Orders. That of Alcántara was founded in 1156, when a fort was established near Salamanca ; the garrison enjoyed the spiritual support of certain Cistercian monks and became more ecclesiastical in character than the other two Orders.

The Grand Masters of these Orders exerted over the members an absolute authority, derived partly from the Crown and also from the Pope, who was inclined to turn to them for support when the Papacy was at variance with the Crown. The mastership of an Order was thus a most influential position, in view of the resources in men and wealth which it could command, and when Ferdinand the Catholic assumed these positions as his royal prerogative, he made a very considerable addition to the prestige and power of the Crown.

In the year 1150, Petronilla, the daughter of Ramiro II of Aragon, was married to Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, an event which proved to be of immense importance for the unification of Spain. This couple had a son, who bore his father's name, but changed it to Alfonso, when he came to rule over Aragon and Catalonia united as one kingdom. Catalonia, apart from the inclusion of Barcelona, one of the most important harbours in the Mediterranean, also held considerable possessions in the South of France ; these came under the sway of Alfonso II, who worked hand in hand with Alfonso VIII of Castile against the Muslims, and made a treaty with him, regulating the division of their respective conquests. Peter II succeeded Alfonso II

in 1196, and was involved in the disputes engendered by the Albigensian heresy and crusade, which was ravaging many parts of his French dominions during the latter half of his reign, and produced, among other consequences, the Dominican Order of monks and the Inquisition. Peter was by no means inclined to countenance the heresy; but he was equally determined not to allow Simon de Montfort to make himself master of the country. He was defeated and killed by Montfort and the crusaders in the battle of Muret, near Toulouse, in 1213.

Peter II left a son of six years of age, James (known to Spanish writers as Jaime, though Jacme is the correct Catalan form), who was to become famous as **James the Conqueror (1213-1276)**. Papal intervention freed him from the control of Simon de Montfort and he was educated under the Master of the Templars, while his great-uncle Sancho governed the country during his minority. James at an early age gave proof of sagacity and leadership; the intrigues of his relatives and the rebellions of his nobles, together with interference from France and Rome, involved him in the vicissitudes of civil war at an age when he was little more than a boy. By 1228 he was master of the situation and turned his energy against the Moors, to the satisfaction of his Catalonian subjects who desired to safeguard and extend their Mediterranean trade. In 1229 he conquered Mallorca, and the remaining islands of the Balearic group were in his power by 1235. Then he attacked Valencia, which was conquered in 1238; here he checked his career in virtue of an agreement with the King of Castile to whom he had undertaken to leave the province of Murcia. In 1264, at the request of Alfonso X, he invaded the province and captured the town and fortress of Murcia, which he then handed over to the Castilian king, in a spirit of loyal co-operation of which there is no parallel example to be found in the previous history of the country. He projected an expedition to the Holy Land, but most of the fleet got no further than Aigues-Mortes; he took his seat in the great Council of Lyons in 1274, and joined in recognizing the supremacy of Pope Gregory X; he died in 1276, leaving Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia to his eldest son Peter, and the Balearic Islands and his possessions in France to his son James. He is certainly the most distinguished figure in Aragonese history; tall and powerful above his contemporaries, and of indomitable personal courage, he was a strategist and tactician of no mean order; religious at heart, he was licentious in character; magnanimous to a beaten foe, he shrank from no cruelty to secure victory; his violent temper led him to commit acts for which his after repentance

was sincere ; he cut out the tongue of a bishop of Gerona in 1246, whom he suspected of betraying a confessional confidence and atoned by building and endowing a monastery. He left a book of autobiographical chronicles and a collection of proverbs, which reveal some respect for letters and culture.

After the death of James the Conqueror aggressive movements against the Moors ceased for nearly two centuries. Both Castile and Aragon were occupied with internal difficulties, and in particular with the struggle of nobles against monarchy ; with this should be considered the growth of the towns and the influence which they exerted upon the final settlement, the outcome of which was a more centralized government and a stronger movement towards national unity.

In Castile, **Alfonso X,** El Sabio (the Wise, or Learned), **(1252–1284)**, marks the beginning of a new era. Alfonso aspired to the position of Holy Roman Emperor ; he married his sister Eleanor to Prince Edward of England, afterwards Edward I ; the journeys and negotiations which were thus necessitated are symptomatic of the fact that peninsularism was breaking down. Hitherto Spain had gone but little abroad ; she had her own crusade upon her own soil, and her chivalry lacked the experience and the broader outlook which knights of other lands gained by travel and service abroad. But when the Moors had been driven into Granada, a period of comparative peace supervened ; castles became homes rather than fortresses, and their inhabitants found time to take some interest in the refinements of civilization. The minstrel was welcomed ; the chronicler received consideration ; and Alfonso's literary activity responded to a general awakening of intellectual interest (see p. 102). This literary work had its political effect ; the realization that a national language existed worthy of literary respect was one step upon the road to national unity. Alfonso was a soldier as well as a scholar, yet his reign was a succession of quarrels with his nobles and his family ; he was an incompetent administrator with a strain of headstrong stubbornness in his nature which led him into action without due consideration for the consequences to himself or for the feelings of others. He gave away the province of Algarve to the King of Portugal and Gascony to England ; he irritated his people by his imperialist ambitions ; he squandered his resources in ill-advised liberality, and debased the coinage in order to improve his finances. He died in the course of a quarrel concerning the succession, with his second son, Sancho, who gained support enough from the nobles to enable

him to occupy the throne as **Sancho IV,** 'the Brave' (**1284–1295**).

The reigns of Sancho and of his son, **Ferdinand IV** (**1295–1312**), were chiefly occupied with friction between the Crown, the nobles and the towns. The next king, **Alfonso XI** (**1312–1350**), was a ruler of genius, who reduced the business of playing off one noble against another to a fine art. Such public order as the preceding reigns had seen was largely the work of the Hermandades, or Brotherhoods, and in particular, of the Brotherhood of Castile. These were associations of towns, formed for mutual protection against the nobles, and even against the unjust demands of Crown officials. They had an efficient armed force at their immediate disposal and did not scruple to use it. They professed that their chief object was to secure respect for the king's authority, and more than one king was glad to avail himself of their help. Alfonso succeeded in improving the efficiency of local administration and of justice; he also suppressed most of the refractory nobles. While his attention was chiefly directed to the improvement of internal affairs, he added the Basque province of Álava to Castile and also inflicted a severe defeat upon the Moors at Tarifa in 1340.

His only legitimate son, **Peter** (**Pedro**) **the Cruel** (**1350–1369**), succeeded him, and the opposition of the eldest of Alfonso's five illegitimate sons, Count Henry of Trastamara, filled Peter's reign with civil war. Count Henry secured an alliance with Peter IV of Aragon, and the critical point was reached in 1366, when the allies, supported by the famous Bertrand du Guesclin, and an army of freebooters known as the 'White Companies', invaded Castile and crowned Henry as king. Peter the Cruel had induced Edward III of England to send an army to his help, under the command of the Black Prince, and the Aragonese allies were completely defeated at the battle of Nájera (1367). The English then discovered what should have been obvious from the outset, that Peter was an unprincipled miscreant with whom no self-respecting leader could associate, and withdrew from the country. Count Henry was able to return with another army, and to defeat and kill his half-brother, whose death was a relief to Spain and whose character can be most charitably summarized as the outcome of homicidal mania.

Henry II (**1369–1379**) was obliged to make numerous concessions to the nobles and to the partisans of Peter, in order to secure his position; he was also disturbed by the claims to the throne put forward by John of Gaunt, who had married Constanza, one of Peter's illegitimate daughters. This matter was

eventually settled in the following reign, when Prince Henry, the heir of Henry II's son, **John I (1379–1390)**, married John of Gaunt's daughter, and they assumed the titles of Prince and Princess of Asturias, which became the regular title of the heirs to the Spanish crown. John I married the heiress to the Portuguese throne, but the Portuguese elected John of Avis as their king and an attempt to press the Spanish claims ended in the complete defeat of the Castilian forces in the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385.

John's successor, **Henry III (1390–1406)**, enjoyed a comparatively peaceful reign, and sent embassies to Constantinople and also to Tamburlane in the then unknown region of Central Asia; a second embassy, which reached Samarkand, found a historian in one of its members, González de Clavijo, the John Mandeville of Spain. Henry also secured the Canary Islands as a Spanish possession. He died at the age of twenty-seven, leaving an heir only two years old, **John II (1406–1454)**. Until John was fourteen, the country was governed by a competent regent, Ferdinand of Antequera, who became King of Aragon in 1412. John proved a weak ruler, and left the business of government to his favourite, Álvaro de Luna, with whom the nobles were at constant variance, until they succeeded in securing his overthrow and execution.

These disorders grew worse during the reign of John's son, **Henry IV (1454–1474)**; the nobles made the supposed illegitimacy of his only daughter, Joan (Juana), an excuse for disputing the succession, and proposed a series of administrative changes which would have left the Crown powerless. On Henry's death, his sister, Isabel (**1474–1504**), was proclaimed queen by one party, while another supported the claims of Joan. Isabel had married Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469; Joan was promised to the King of Portugal, who therefore supported her party. Isabel's forces were victorious, she was recognized as queen in 1479, and Joan went into a convent. In that year, Ferdinand became King of Aragon.

In Aragon, James the Conqueror had been succeeded by his son, **Peter III (1276–1285)**, whose reign was chiefly memorable for the fact that he conquered Sicily and came into conflict with the Pope and the French over this acquisition. Peter had married Constance, the daughter of King Manfred of Sicily, a member of the Hohenstaufen imperial family, in opposition to which the papacy had called in Charles of Anjou. Charles defeated Manfred and executed his nephew, Conradin, in 1268. Though Constance had every claim to rule the island, Peter

made no open move, until the outbreak of the revolt known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282). It then appeared that he had long been preparing for action; he sent out a powerful fleet under the famous admiral, Roger de Lauria, and speedily made himself master of the island and the surrounding waters. The Pope replied by excommunicating Peter and offering Aragon to France; a crusade was proclaimed and French forces advanced far into Catalonia; the dissatisfied elements in Aragon grasped their opportunity and Peter was obliged to grant the celebrated General Privilege, which the Cortes thenceforward regarded as their Magna Carta. The French were defeated both by land and sea, but Peter died shortly afterwards.

Alfonso III, Peter's son, reigned for only six years (**1285–1291**), which were chiefly occupied with negotiations for the settlement of the Sicilian question. His brother, who succeeded him, **James II** (**1291–1327**), agreed to abandon Sicily to the Pope in exchange for Corsica and Sardinia; the Sicilians set Fadrique, the son of James, upon the throne, and the struggle went on, until 1302, when Fadrique married a daughter of Charles of Anjou and peace was made on the understanding that the succession should revert to the Angevin house.

Peter IV (**1336–1387**) is the most important figure among the next four kings, whose reigns were almost entirely filled with domestic difficulties. Peter was involved in a serious struggle with the nobles, which ended in the success of the Crown; the powers wrested from his forerunners were reduced, and a centralized absolutism became a possible form of government. Sicily returned to Aragon, when Martin, the king of the island, succeeded to the throne in 1395. He died without issue in 1410 and **Ferdinand I** (**1410–1416**), then regent of Castile, was elected to fill his place. The next king, **Alfonso V,** (**1416–1458**), was chiefly occupied with warfare in Italy, with the result that disorder became apparent in the affairs of Aragon. Under the reign of his brother, **John II** (**1458–1479**), a dangerous Catalan revolt broke out, in support of Charles of Viana, prince of Navarre and John's son by his first wife. John had married again and the stepmother fought for the interests of her own children, among whom was the future King Ferdinand. He married Isabel of Castile in 1469, and in conjunction with her, became ruler of the whole of Spain, apart from Granada, upon his father's death.

Forms of government, both in Castile and in Aragon, were modified during this period, not only by political and international events, but also by the slow development of class dis-

tinctions under the influence of increasing wealth and culture. In Castilian history, the nobles appear as the disturbing element, in continual opposition to the cause of order and centralized government represented by the kings; their decline was due as much to economic reasons as to the increasing power of the Crown. The nobles took no part in trade and commerce, which were steadily advancing, and their rents were diminished by the gradual decay of the servile system. At the end of the twelfth century, the serfs began to obtain emancipation; by the fifteenth century the usual relationship between noble and commoner was that of landlord and tenant, while the peasant was now able to take service as and where he pleased, to marry without his lord's consent and to secure legal definition of his liabilities. The consequence was a steady increase in the growth of town life, to which many were attracted by the greater freedom assured by a municipal *fuero*. The clergy increased both in numbers and wealth; many men entered a religious order, while continuing their secular occupations, in order to enjoy the privileges and immunities of the Church, which was not only exempt from taxation but was allowed to collect a tithe from the produce of lands not in clerical occupation, a portion of which, however, the *tercias reales*, went to the king.

In Aragon and Catalonia, the peasant classes obtained their freedom at a later date and with severer struggles; in Valencia, much of the agricultural work was done by Muslim tenants who were in a state of practical serfdom. The opposition between towns and nobility was more marked here than in Castile. The Moorish elements resident among Christian populations was at this time very considerable; these so-called *mudéjares* enjoyed civil and political liberty, until towards the end of the fourteenth century, when the Church began to proclaim the necessity of religious uniformity; the fact that much of the commerce and industry of the country was in their hands was a further cause of unpopularity. The same observations apply in greater measure to the Jews, whose numbers had been increased in the thirteenth century by the persecutions of the Almohades which had driven them into Christian territory. In 1391 a series of anti-Semitic riots broke out, the result of which was to leave the Jew in a position considerably worse than that of the Moor *mudéjar*; Jews were confined to their own quarter, were forbidden to trade with Christians or to hold public offices or to carry arms; many professed conversion and were known as Marranos (pigs) by Christians, who were rarely convinced of their sincerity.

The political interest of this period centres round the struggles of the Crown with the nobility and of the towns with the nobles and at times with the Crown. The natural aspiration of the Crown was complete control of the national forces and resources. The nobles were opposed to any form of absolutism; their considerable wealth, their spirit of self-sufficiency and independence and the fact that the king was dependent upon their goodwill for the formation of an army, made them a difficult problem for any but the ablest of rulers. Alfonso X was the first ruler to formulate the rights which previous generations had gradually recognized as royal, the principle of hereditary succession and primogeniture, the right of coining money, mobilizing the army, making laws and exercising or delegating judicial powers. Alfonso was not himself particularly successful in asserting the rights which he claimed, but he has the credit of having formulated the ideal for future rulers.

As that ideal became realized, a Court bureaucracy began to grow up; nobles sent their sons to Court to secure the king's favour and to gain some education; by degrees the royal advisers became a regular council, the *consejo real*. A law of 1385 provided for some popular representatives as members of this council, which was to consist of twelve, of whom four were to be of the non-titled classes. It was found convenient that these four should be lawyers, as the council had certain judicial functions to perform. Judicial powers were also exercised by the provincial governors, the *adelantados*, appointed by the Crown, and by subordinate Crown officials, the *merinos*. The *alcalde* (mayors) of the towns acted as magistrates, and appeal could be made from their decisions to the Crown judicial authorities. There was, however, no uniform system for the whole country; certain towns, certain corporations, such as the Mesta, the great sheep-grazing syndicate, the clergy, the universities were exempt from royal jurisdiction and had their own officials and their own laws. The general policy of the Crown was to curtail these privileges as much as possible by the substitution of royal for local officials; the free Castilian towns, which had governed themselves and maintained their independence by means of their leagues (*hermandades*), received the king's judges, and in some cases invited royal intervention, when their internal quarrels became too acute. Alfonso XI was able to send a new official, the *corregidor*, to represent the interests of the Crown in the municipal assemblies. These officials became a permanent source of Crown influence.

The Cortes originated in the general councils of nobles and

prelates summoned from time to time by the king. The term Cortes is first applied to a council of nobles in 1137. Representatives of the towns first appeared at the Cortes held in León in 1188; no such case is known in Castile before 1250. The Cortes thus came to consist of three estates, the nobles, clergy, and the *procuradores* from the towns. There was at first no limit to the number of these town deputies; in the Cortes of Burgos in 1315, 90 towns were represented by 192 deputies; that of Madrid in 1391 was attended by 126 deputies for 50 towns. The Cortes met when the king chose to summon them, and at the place where he happened to be; some towns found the expense of sending representatives a burden and induced richer towns to represent them; some allowed the king's officials to act as their deputies, with the result that they eventually lost the privilege, which was confined in Isabel's time to eighteen towns sending two *procuradores* each. As the Cortes were chiefly concerned with the grant of taxation and as the clergy and nobles were exempt from taxation, these estates did not usually come to meetings, except upon some important occasion, such as the recognition of an heir to the throne. While taxation could not be levied without the consent of the Cortes, they could not insist that redress must precede supply; they had a right to submit petitions to the king which might become the basis of legislation initiated by the Crown; the Cortes had no legislative power; they could suggest and advise. As the royal power became more centralized and absolute, so the influence of the Cortes decreased.

Conditions in Aragon were somewhat different; there were separate Cortes for Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, which might be convoked simultaneously, but did not even then form one whole. The Aragonese Cortes had four estates of the realm, the nobility being divided into two classes. They could and did insist that redress should precede any grant of taxation; a unanimous decision of the four estates was necessary to secure the validity of a decision; the opposition of one estate could stop proceedings. Between their sessions a permanent commission of eight, two members for each estate, was maintained to watch over the public interest as against that of the Crown. The Aragonese Cortes were much less amenable to royal persuasion than the Castilian, for the reason that in Aragon nobles and commons were united against the Crown, whereas in Castile the opposition was of king and towns against the nobles.

The Crown was constantly in want of money for the public services and for war; apart from extraordinary taxation, the

resources under Ferdinand and Isabel were as follows. The king had the monopoly of certain mines and salt-works, and the patronage and estates of the three military Orders. There were also certain customs duties and duties upon traffic and circulation. There was the notorious *alcabala*, a tax, generally of 10 per cent., upon all pecuniary transactions; this contradicted the very fundaments of the principle that a tax should be easy to collect and not readily perceptible by the payer. The *Bula de la Cruzada* was a tax authorized by the Pope to raise funds for the wars against the Moors, and was continued after the ostensible need had passed; papal authorization was easily obtained for this and also for the *tercias reales*; the Crown usually left one-third of the income to maintain church buildings. Loans forced or voluntary, the issues of mortgages (*juros*) on Crown lands and debasement of the coinage were other methods of meeting a financial crisis. The royal monopolies and the collection of the taxes were usually farmed out to individuals, and the evils attendant upon this practice were not wanting.

Castile and Aragon were not politically united by the joint reign of **Ferdinand and Isabel (1479–1504)**. But any clash of opposed policies was avoided and the way was thus paved in practice and in popular estimation for the closer union of later years. The Conquest of Granada (1492) was due as much to internal dissensions within the Moorish kingdom as to the military skill of the Spanish king, and was followed by a persecution of the Muslim and Jewish population which gave expression to the general religious intolerance of the age. The converted Moors formed the class known as Moriscos, and the Inquisition was established [1] to secure them from relapse and to increase their numbers. The revolts which followed cost heavily in lives and money and a period of tension began which (as will be seen in the following chapter) ended in the expulsion of that part of Spain's population economically most valuable to the country. Ferdinand was somewhat less fanatical than his wife and these measures were carried out with less stringency in Aragon, where the powerful landowners objected to see disturbance and hardship inflicted upon their most profitable tenants. From the

[1] The Inquisition was in existence in Aragon, and in Italy, during the thirteenth century. But it only became notorious after its introduction into Castile (1480), and its re-establishment in Aragon and Catalonia (1486–87). The Dominican Tomás de Torquemada, whose name is always associated with the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, was appointed Inquisitor in 1482.

legal and ecclesiastical point of view, Spain was to be a land of Roman Catholic Christians only.

Both rulers did much to complete the process of centralizing all authority in themselves; Isabel especially subdued the refractory nobles by force or diplomacy, secured the recognition of her officials in the towns, and with the help of Jiménez (or Ximenez) de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, her confessor, purified the Church of some of its baser elements. The great event of the reign was the discovery of America, which immediately led to the final conquest of the Canary Islands to secure the route to the New World and to check any possible attacks by the African Muslim populations. Ferdinand's intervention in Italy and his acquisition of Naples were now to bring Spain into the current of European politics; her adventures in America were to deprive her of men and attention which she needed for her own development and the treasure ships which her colonies sent her were no full compensation for the loss which they inflicted. Here, then, we see Spain at the parting of the ways; at the moment when domestic and peaceful consolidation becomes a possibility, she is tempted to become the dominant figure in Europe and to make herself the chief colonial power in the world.

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[See also Nos. 7, 19, 45, 51, 55, 56, 77, 107, 110.]

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CHAPTER III

SPANISH HISTORY, 1492 TO 1898

TWELVE years of life remained to Queen Isabel after the Conquest of Granada, a period characterized (as has been indicated in the last chapter) by rapid changes at home and significant happenings beyond the seas. By an edict signed at Granada on March 30, 1492, all Jews were given four months to become Christians or submit to banishment from the country, a step taken also five years later at the instance of the Catholic Monarchs [1] in Portugal. This intolerant policy was continued. The influence of Jiménez de Cisneros extended a like severity to the Moors, to whom the treaty, after the Conquest, had been not ungenerous. In 1502 Isabel decreed that all unconverted Moors in the Castilian realms should leave them on pain of death, as a result of which the number of Moriscos increased greatly.

Ferdinand, during these years, was occupied chiefly with a continuation of the projects of his predecessors for Aragonese expansion eastwards. By successive breaches of faith he first regained Roussillon, on his own borders, from his chief rival, France, and later, the important Kingdom of Naples. After Isabel's death in 1504, Ferdinand succeeded in driving the French from Italy, and added to his realms all Navarre south of the Pyrenees (1512). Powerful Spanish armies under the generalship of Gonsalvo de Córdoba (the 'Great Captain') overran Northern Italy, making it clear that, having finally defeated her age-long adversary, Spain was now to be reckoned with as a force in Europe. Across the seas, the final conquest of Teneriffe (1494–1496) and the operations in North Africa which led to the capture of Bugia, Algiers and Tripoli (1510), showed that Ferdinand was prepared to follow up his victories over the Muslims, the more so since North Africa was a valuable strategic possession for operations against Italy.

But the crowning achievement of these years is of course the

[1] This title was conferred upon Ferdinand and Isabel by Pope Alexander VI in 1494.

part taken by Spain in the discovery of America. It should be needless to tell in detail how, with the blessing of the Church and the help of the Catholic Monarchs, Christopher Columbus set out from Palos on August 3, 1492, touched the Bahamas on October 12, and, after exploring parts of Cuba and Haiti, returned on March 15, 1493, and reported progress to Ferdinand and Isabel at Barcelona. On September 25 of the same year there set out a second expedition; a third in 1498, and a fourth in 1502, made fresh discoveries. Before Columbus died, in painful circumstances, in 1506, other adventurers had begun to follow his example: of these the most famous was Núñez de Balboa who in 1513 crossed the Isthmus of Panamá and discovered the Pacific. Such exploits led Spain on to commitments in the New World as well as in the Old, preparing her greatness, and at the same time, though less apparently, her downfall.

On Isabel's death in 1504 it became evident that her daughter and heir Joan (Juana la Loca) was too mentally deficient to govern. Ferdinand therefore became regent of the thrones of Castile and León [1] until his death in January, 1516. In this year, fortunately for Spain, Joan's son Charles (b. 1500) came of age, and in November, 1517, the first of its Hapsburg rulers, **Charles I (1516–1556)**, landed in Spain, a foreign prince by education, surrounded by Flemish advisers, who only gradually conquered the esteem of the now united kingdoms and became one of the greatest rulers in their history. In 1519, on the death of his grandfather Maximilian, the young king was elected Holy Roman Emperor.[2] This event naturally strengthened in him the imperialistic ambitions which Ferdinand had inherited from his Aragonese ancestors. These, however, he could not indulge at once. Risings all over Castile (1520–1521) which were ended only by the Battle of Villalar, civil war in Valencia (1520–1522) and Mallorca (1521–1523) and Moorish insubordination occupied him even while he was preparing for the first (1521–1529) of the various wars against France which went on with brief intervals almost till the death of the ambitious Francis I in 1547. Charles's courage, determination and ability now became clearly evident to his Spanish subjects. Henry VIII of England, who had been coquetting with Francis, joined him (1523). The French had re-invaded Italy, and, in spite of the counter-invasion of Provence by the Imperialists, occupied Milan and besieged Pavia. But

[1] Joan's husband took possession of these thrones as Philip I, but died in 1506.

[2] Whence the title of Charles V by which he is usually known. His correct style in Spain is Charles I.

at Pavia (1525) they met their match. A great Imperialist victory was marked by the capture of Francis, who was taken to Madrid and released on the terms of his captor. Charles then pursued his campaign southwards as far as Rome; the city was sacked by foreign levies; and the Pope, who had abandoned his alliance with Charles, was made prisoner (1527). The French now retaliated with great vigour, pushing southwards to Naples and spending themselves there. Their final battle with the Spaniards at Landriano (1529) resulted in their total defeat.

With the Peace of Cambrai ('La Paz de las Damas': 1529) Charles I's real triumphs began. The acknowledged ruler of Lombardy, and the dominant power in all Italy, he could afford to place himself on free and generous terms with his fellow-rulers while he went to Germany (1530–1532) in an attempt to put down its rising Protestantism. Next he turned his attention to Africa, where the corsair Barbarossa, who ruled Algiers, not only attracted large bodies of Spaniard-hating Muslims to his side and service, but was slowly extending his kingdom and uniting his arms with those of the powerful Turk. Barbarossa's occupation of Tunis (1533) was taken by Charles as a direct challenge to reconquer a strategical position of such importance. After a fierce campaign he succeeded (1535): it was a notable feat. But in the following spring the French opened a new campaign in Italy. Charles counter-attacked, unsuccessfully, in Provence. After two years of indecisive fighting a truce was signed for ten years (1538), but kept only for four. Late in 1541, Charles's disastrous attempt, made with an apparently invincible fleet, to crush Barbarossa once and for all and take Algiers, proved too great a temptation for Francis: only the re-alliance of Henry VIII with Charles saved the situation. Henry and Charles invaded France simultaneously: Francis made peace once more (1544): three years later he died.

Then, with little gained save prestige from so many years' warfare, Charles once more turned to Germany. The first years of his French wars had seen a succession of movements on his part to overthrow German Protestantism, but it was not till Francis was removed that he was able to get to work effectively. The year (1546) after the Council of Trent assembled, Charles went to war against the princes who had embraced the reform, and in 1547 won an overwhelming victory at Mühlberg. By dint of imperial edicts and Spanish garrisons Germany was completely catholicized, and the Emperor, victorious on all sides, seemed almost to be without occupation. But religious observ-

ances cannot for long be imposed by force of arms. The Spaniards were hated in Germany, by people as much as by princes, and a new and more powerful revolt ended in the decision of the Diet of Augsburg (1555) that Catholics and Protestants should worship side by side in freedom.

And what of Spain during these five and thirty years of bold but unproductive Imperial adventure? Through no direct doing of her sovereign, Spain was flourishing. In the so-called Indies, conquest was succeeding discovery. From Hernán Cortés the motherland received Mexico; from Francisco Pizarro, Peru; from Pedro de Valdivia, Chile. Explorations and settlements were proceeding continuously in what are now Argentina, Bolivia, and the Central American republics. Among the results was the development of an enormous trade, exports of manufactured goods of all kinds in great quantities—especially of wine—being balanced by the influx of gold and the import of American raw materials. From Seville, which long had the monopoly of American trade, transshipments to the Indies were made, not only from other ports of Spain, but also from foreign countries. The sudden rise of mercantile transactions on such a scale created machinery of all kinds in advance of that known elsewhere. All these conditions of commercial prosperity outlived not only Charles I's reign but also the sixteenth century.

The constitutional history of the reign it would take too long to relate in detail. It was well that Charles's solid virtues came to be appreciated by his people, and that he took a wife, not from England as he had at first thought of doing, but from Portugal. For he was not unnaturally compelled to strain his relations with the Cortes by the persistence of his demands upon them for money, which, as a rule, they granted him, while, on the other hand, though he learned wisdom from his initial difficulties, he inclined towards absolutism in his refusal to redress grievances as a preliminary to the granting of subsidies. Ferdinand and Isabel, as we have seen, had used the Castilian Cortes for their own purposes, and only called them or the Cortes of Aragon when to do so was unavoidable. The decline in power of the two privileged Orders dates (as already suggested) from before 1492; the third estate, weakened by the defeat of Villalar, was quietly undermined throughout Charles's reign. Side by side with this goes the prominence given to the advisory Councils such as the Council of the State, the Council of Italy and the Council of Flanders. The important Council of the Indies, too, was created in 1524 for purposes of colonial administration.

A ruler whose projects were so vast could hardly have failed

to exercise much thought about the succession to his Crown and Empire. Both he would undoubtedly have bequeathed to his son Philip (b. 1527), but his brother Ferdinand had aspirations to the Empire and it was clear that the Germans would not tolerate a continued Spanish union under Philip, even if he were to succeed not his father but his uncle. As a result he turned again towards union with England and married Philip to its Roman Catholic Queen Mary,—a union which thwarted his dearest hopes by proving childless. At length, in the fortieth year of his reign, growing weary alike of power and disappointment, he determined to abdicate. First the Low Countries (1555), and then Spain (1556), he made over to Philip, and retired to the Monastery of Yuste, in Extremadura. In 1558, his brother Ferdinand was elected to succeed him as Emperor, and Spain was severed from the Holy Roman Empire.

The reign of **Philip II (1556–1598)** continued the tradition set by his father, who, indeed, had both educated and practised him in government. Less efficient in several ways than Charles, he was no less industrious, determined or devoted to the cause of Catholicism. He inherited a throne still beset with troublesome possessions: his European activities were to bring him glory and bitterness in equal measure. The American colonies continued to develop throughout his reign, and with them the material prosperity of the mother country.

No sooner had Philip ascended the throne than his European wars began. A short struggle with the Pope over his Italian interests was succeeded by a more serious one with France, in which Philip was able to obtain the support of England, and won the battle of St. Quentin, though he failed to follow up his victory by marching upon Paris, as Charles would undoubtedly have done in his place. Some further fighting and prolonged negotiations ended in the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis (1559), which Philip thought to seal in the same year by taking as his third wife the young Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Henry II of France.

A Spaniard to the core, more at home and more often at home in his kingdom than his father, Philip now returned there. He had already made it perfectly clear to the Castilian Cortes that he intended to govern without their aid if he so desired, and he took definite personal control, the effective governing bodies being the various central Councils. There followed a brief and badly needed period of retrenchment after the wars abroad which even Spanish prosperity was beginning to find exhausting. It was marred by a serious rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada

(1568–1571), the cause of which was the harshness of the Inquisition and some legislation more intolerant than that to which Granada was accustomed. As a supposed but mistaken remedy, the Moriscos were expelled from Andalusia (1570). A worse trial still was the Turkish menace in the Mediterranean. This a Spanish fleet had twice failed ignominiously to check in 1560–1561; in 1565 the Turks besieged Malta, which held out after the most appalling horrors; but when next they came out on the offensive, Philip's help was more efficient, and it was mainly a Spanish fleet that in 1571 won the really decisive and crushing victory of Lepanto. Philip's bastard brother, John (Don Juan) of Austria, who was in command, would have followed up his victory had the money been forthcoming, but he was forced to be content with taking Tunis, and, like Ferdinand the Catholic, with dreaming dreams of a North African Empire.

Meanwhile the supreme trouble of this reign had already begun: the wars in the Netherlands. For a long time dissatisfaction had been fermenting, for Philip tried to govern the Flemings like the Spaniards, and to maintain Spanish officials, Spanish troops and even the Spanish Inquisition there. The unrest, which was largely due to political causes, began soon to assume the character of a religious rising. Hardening a heart incapable of compromise and gentleness, Philip sent the Duke of Alba to quell the rebels, which he endeavoured to do (1567–1573) with such brutality that the revolt now resembled a war of independence. Alba was at length recalled in favour of Luis de Requesêns, whose gentler methods were more successful. Upon his death (1576), John of Austria was sent to succeed him, but a mutiny of the Spanish troops made things harder for him, and the Flemings presented a united resistance. After more than a year of open warfare he died (1578) of fever.

Leaving the Netherlands to be tranquillized by the diplomacy of Alexander Farnese, we now turn to a field in which Philip won an almost bloodless victory that might well have become the most significant of the century to future ages. The young King Sebastian of Portugal had just died, and Philip saw his opportunity of succeeding to the vacant throne, to which he had a claim through his mother. None of the other claimants could stand against him, and a show of force, together with a few essential promises, was sufficient to bring the whole Peninsula under Spanish rule (1581) for a period of sixty years. Unhappily, although Philip kept the promises he had made and respected the Portuguese nationality, the cleft between Spaniards and Portuguese was too deep for Iberian unity to become permanent.

Yet, when one considers the vastness of the Spanish empire as reinforced by the Portuguese colonies in three continents, it is impossible not to feel that this was the day of Spain's opportunity and that all else should have been subordinated to realizing the ideal of permanent union.

So far as Philip was concerned, the year 1581 marks a climax. Troubles both personal and political began to overwhelm him, and his disposition became gloomy and embittered. His child-wife Elizabeth had long ago died in a confinement; Charles, his half-witted son, had died at the age of twenty-three: now his fourth wife died also, and two of her three children. Not only the Netherlands but Naples was in rebellion; the Pope and the Spanish Bishops had recently defied the royal authority; while England, eyed by the King throughout his reign with misgiving, had been aiding the Protestant Flemings, and France seemed likely at last to emerge from the religious insecurity which had made her impotent.

It was a wretched enough outlook, but Philip hoped, by one bold stroke, to bring good out of some of this evil. Only policy had kept him from attacking England in the past, for not only did she defy him in the Old World, but her pirates were stinging him continually in the New. Now with his enfeebled vision he believed he saw a way to the English throne which in the past had seemed to be barred to him. He would dethrone Elizabeth, and give Mary, Queen of Scots, her crown, on the understanding that she made him her heir. Though Spain was totally impoverished, a superhuman effort was made to raise a fleet which could be termed 'invincible'. Troops from Flanders and ships from Naples were pressed into service; the Pope, under certain conditions, promised a subsidy; forced loans and illegal taxes in great number were resorted to, not for the first time, but more freely than ever before. The story of what happened is well known: how in 1587 Drake 'singed the King's beard' in Cádiz Harbour, and how, on May 30, 1588, the great fleet sailed from Lisbon to its doom. Every kind of mistake was made in organization: and the worst mistake of all was the appointment as commander of the totally incapable Duke of Medina Sidonia. Before ever the fleet reached La Coruña its commander advised Philip to recall it. When at length the engagement began, off Plymouth (July 31), defeat was followed by panic, and panic by storm and shipwreck. Out of 131 vessels and 24,000 men, only 65 and 10,000 returned.

Philip lived for ten years after the rout of the Invincible Armada. In that time he saw the end of the religious strife in

France, the accession of Henry of Navarre to the throne, which he had done his best to prevent, the contempt of England expressed in the light-hearted sack of Cádiz by the Earl of Essex, and an insurrection in Aragon which was put down with some severity. His last days were passed in the agony of a horrible disease which he bore with unflinching fortitude, lying in the simplest chamber of his great sombre palace of El Escorial, till, on September 13, 1598, death claimed him. During his reign, Spain's inward decay had set in. Even in Charles's day the Cortes had had difficulty in finding money for the royal exploits. Now the country was bankrupt, oppressed, corrupted and all but ruined. Both agriculture and craftsmanship had suffered from the expulsion of the Moriscos. Fishing had been ruined by the commandeering of all boats for warfare. Manufactures had ceased from pure inertia. The population, already drained by the Americas, was thinned still further by war, disease and exile, though it was not till some time later that the seriousness of its decline became apparent. Nor were social conditions any better. Excess of luxury in the upper classes contrasted with miserable poverty in the lower. The King's religious fanaticism bred hypocrisy in his court and people, and testimonies of every kind speak of a moral tone that sank continually lower.

It may be said at once that this social and political degradation continued through the reigns of all the three remaining Hapsburgs, which form one period of frank decline. **Philip III (1598–1621)** succeeded, at the age of twenty, to possessions much more manageable than his father's, since the Netherlands had been left to his half-sister Isabel. But he had not even the elements of a ruler: weak, fatuous and extravagant, he was entirely governed by favourites, notably the Duke of Lerma, and he replenished his coffers, when the Cortes would not fill them, by selling honours far and wide to those who would buy.

The story of his reign makes pitiful reading, even compared with the splendid failures of his father. Its characteristics are indecision and inefficiency. Since 1560, the capital of Spain had been Madrid: it now (1601) became Valladolid, and after four years Madrid once more. A new invasion of England was planned,—and a new storm dispersed the fifty ships which set out for it. A fantastic attempt was made to support the rebellious Earl of Tyrone and conquer Ireland; a pathetic one, to help Isabel against the Flemings. At last these pretences of activity petered out, and Spain, at peace with England, Holland and France, might have recuperated her forces had her mis-

governors known how this could be done. As it was, they used their freedom from foreign wars to commit a supreme act of folly. Attempts were made to check the menace of Moorish pirates, and activity in the Mediterranean, not being considered sufficient, was followed by the expulsion of the Moriscos from the kingdom of Valencia (1609). Nor was this all: the expulsion, accompanied by quite unnecessary cruelty, was extended to all other parts of Spain where Moriscos were still left: Aragon, Catalonia, Murcia, Andalusia, La Mancha, Extremadura and Castile. Thus any number up to half a million of Spain's most profitable and industrious subjects were expelled, and with the continuance of peace she grew not richer, but poorer. An inconclusive war with Savoy and an impolitic entry into the Thirty Years War, on the side of the Emperor, concluded an inglorious reign.

Philip IV (1621–1665), son of Philip III and Margaret of Austria, was even weaker and more frivolous than his father. The Duke of Lerma gave place to the Count (Conde-Duque) of Olivares and the misrule of Spain went on much as before, with the additional burden for the country of new and ruinous wars. A truce which Philip III had made with Holland expired in the year of his death and Olivares haughtily resumed hostilities. Though the young King had married the daughter of Henry IV, he went to war with France also. Naval victories over the Dutch and the capture of Breda put heart into the Spaniards again, but with the entry of France (1635) into the Thirty Years War the tide of fortune turned against her. In Guipúzcoa, and in Roussillon, France made incursions into Spain; at sea, a Spanish fleet was destroyed by the Dutch; and things were heading fast for the disaster of Rocroi (1643), where the French gained so decisive a victory over the Spaniards that it may be said to have killed the once world-wide reputation of the Spanish army.

Meanwhile Philip had worse troubles at home than any abroad. It was hardly to be expected that the wise government of Portugal would continue under Lerma and Olivares, and the latter's open attempt to castilianize that country brought it into a complete accord against Spain which he could do nothing to alter. In a single day's revolt the Spanish rule was overthrown and the Duke of Braganza was chosen by the Portuguese for their King (1640).

To this disaster was added in the same year a serious rebellion in Catalonia caused by disregard of Catalan liberties. An endeavour was made to put down the revolt with troops and slaughter, whereupon the Catalans called on the French, who

responded by an invasion by land and the bombardment of Tarragona by sea. At the same time Louis XIII was openly proclaimed King. When the French had occupied the whole of Catalonia and part of Aragon the spirit of Philip IV was stirred at last. He took command himself of his troops, dismissed Olivares (1643), and did his best to make peace with his rebellious subjects, hampered as he was now (1646–1648) with a fierce but abortive rebellion in Naples. Unhappily, the Catalan rebellion wore on, though its force was largely expended, and the Catalans began to realize that the French were no more ideal rulers than the Spaniards. The Treaty of the Pyrenees, between Spain and France, in 1659, restored Catalonia to Spain, while Roussillon and Cerdagne became French again. María Teresa, Philip's daughter, was given in marriage to Louis XIV of France, and Spain had now peace once more, since the end of the Thirty Years War had come eleven years earlier.

The state of the country at this time can hardly be imagined. What the taxation was like may be judged from the fact that one-third of the income of the nobility and one-eighth of the value of all staple articles of diet went directly to the State, together with 14 per cent. on the values of all sales. These unpopular taxes were known as the *millones* and the *alcabala* [1] respectively. Industry of almost every kind was at a standstill; foreign trade was non-existent, and, for the most part, forbidden. Yet Philip, still favourite-ridden and desperate, devoted the last four years of his life to fruitless efforts for the reconquest of Portugal. His son Baltasar Carlos, immortalized by Velázquez, had died in boyhood, and his second wife, Mariana of Austria, had given him a weakly epileptic child, who succeeded him at the age of four as **Charles II (1665–1700)**.

It was seen, almost from his accession, that 'Charles the Bewitched', as he was later unkindly named, was likely to be the last of Spain's Hapsburg rulers, and as a result intrigues for the crown went on throughout most of his reign. Nor did wars abroad cease with the desire for them. In 1668, the independence of Portugal was finally acknowledged, but the ambitions of Louis XIV, now approaching the height of his power and fame, involved Spain in unprovoked wars with France. First, the cause was Louis' invasion of the Netherlands, where he succeeded in retaining his conquests (1667–1668). This gave him the chance for a second invasion in 1672, from which he emerged six years later with fresh possessions. Unhappy

[1] See p. 56 above. The *alcabala* had greatly increased since the time there referred to.

Spain, from being first a great power, and then at least a valiant fighting people, became now almost at the mercy of the Roi Soleil. In 1681, Louis began to lay hands on those few European outposts of Spain which former treaties had left her, and after a three years' campaign and a brief interval, he again attacked her in 1689. This last war continued till 1697, by which time Louis had determined that his grandson, Philip, Duke of Anjou (b. 1683), should succeed the last of the Hapsburgs, and was therefore no longer anxious to appear too depredatory. Charles himself, who was near to death, would have preferred an Austrian successor, for his mother and wife were both Austrian; but, yielding to persuasions on all sides, he at length bequeathed his kingdom to the young Bourbon Duke, making the important proviso that France and Spain should never be united under the same monarch. On November 1, 1700, he died.

Philip V (1700–1746) soon showed himself to be acting under the orders of his grandfather, and the century of Spain's regeneration under the Bourbons began ominously in 1701, when England, Austria, the Empire and the Protestant Netherlands formed the Grand Alliance and supported the Archduke Charles of Austria against France and Spain. The King had hardly celebrated his marriage (to Louis XIV's nominee, Marie Louise, daughter of the Duke of Savoy) when he had to leave to quell a revolt in his kingdom of Naples. On his return, hearing that an English and Dutch army had landed at Lisbon, he was forced to invade Portugal (1704). In the same year, the English took Gibraltar, which they have held ever since, and, in 1708, Menorca, which they kept for over seventy years (see p. 72). Elsewhere in Spain, Philip struggled bravely to hold his own. Catalonia quickly became disaffected and the Archduke was proclaimed King in Valencia and Barcelona (1705). While Philip was engaged here, another allied army marched through Portugal and took Madrid, holding it only four months (1706). Outside Spain, the War of the Spanish Succession, as it was called, centred round the victories of the Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709). It seemed likely, at this point, that he would be able to impose his own terms on Louis. But in 1711 the Archduke, somewhat unexpectedly, became Holy Roman Emperor (Charles VI), whereupon the plans of the Allies were completely changed, for their real motive in the war was the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, which the union of Spain and the

Empire would have upset as disastrously as that of Spain and France. So the Treaty of Utrecht was drawn up (1713), which confirmed Philip in his kingdom, but made him formally renounce any right to the crown of France and surrender his Italian possessions to the Emperor. England, too, was given the important monopoly of the slave trade with the colonies of Spanish America, and the right of setting up trade agencies in certain of their ports.

During the latter stages of the war Philip had suffered severely in his own country. Not only had the Archduke again taken Madrid, but, even after the Treaty, Barcelona held out, and flatly refused to recognize the Bourbons. In the end, after a hideous carnage (1714), the city was reduced by sheer force, and it may be imagined that Catalonia was not the more contented, though she can hardly have been surprised, when some of her traditional and valued privileges were taken from her.

As a result of the long struggle, Philip had endeared himself to the Spaniards as a brave soldier, and still more had his spirited young Queen become respected when again and again she had been able to stir up the people to action. Both in morals and in *morale*, Spain was already improving greatly ; corruption and favouritism were on the decline ; and taxation was at least effective though still ruinously heavy. In 1714, Marie Louise died, and Philip quickly re-married, his bride being Elizabeth of Parma (Isabel Farnese). The dominating feminine influence on Philip during the first fifteen years of his reign (and he was always easily moved by women) had been the Princesse des Ursins, an old lady of great skill, who had been sent to Marie Louise by Louis XIV : she was faithful as a rule to Philip's best interests, supporting him more than once when he kicked against Louis' wishes. His new queen, however, dismissed her, so as to rule her husband alone, and, through him, his country. She was a forceful and aggressive personality, and her dominating ideas,—separation from France, advances in Italy and the aggrandizement of her own children—prevailed until the end of Philip's long reign. His ministers, in particular, were markedly Italian, chief among them being the Cardinal Alberoni, who (while still a simple priest) had been responsible for his second marriage.

During the rest of Philip's reign no events of primary importance took place, beyond a series of wars and wrangles in the interests of the Queen's ambitions. A belated and unwilling peace (1720) with the Empire was forced on Spain by the hostilities of the Quadruple Alliance. Four years later came Philip's

somewhat startling abdication, during one of his recurring periods of intense melancholy, in favour of his son, Luis I, who, however, died after a reign of seven months. In this difficult situation Philip re-assumed the crown. An unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Gibraltar was followed by a war on Austria with the object of reconquering Naples and the Two Sicilies for Isabel's son Charles. This end was attained (1734), but at the price of the three duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, which Philip was compelled to renounce. A further conflict with England, in which France joined Spain, grew into the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) : as a result of this Isabel was successful in obtaining the three duchies above mentioned, which she gave to her son Philip, who had married a daughter of Louis XV. But ere this took place Philip V had died (1746), to be succeeded by Marie Louise's son, **Ferdinand VI (1746–1759)**, a young man of thirty-four, who proved to be a patriotic and peace-loving king, kept Spain from foreign wars and foreign influences and allowed her ample opportunity for recuperation. Sad to relate, the melancholia of his father was accentuated in him, and the death of his Portuguese consort, Barbara of Braganza, broke his heart and caused him to lose his reason.

Those very foreign influences which, under the first of the Bourbon kings, were so frequently resented, were in many ways the best thing that could have happened to Spain. More efficient administration did much to better her fortunes, and, had not the Succession wars and Isabel Farnese's ambition continued to drain her resources, many of the oppressive taxes might have been abolished, as indeed a very few of them were. Constitutionally, as will readily be understood, the Bourbons continued the absolutist policy of the Hapsburgs. The Cortes of Castile were now scarcely ever summoned ; the Councils lost much of their authority ; only the King lost nothing. Philip did as much as he dared towards depriving the provincial kingdoms of their few remaining privileges, not so much from enmity towards the kingdoms as in the interests of a centralized Spain. Except in Catalonia, little hostility was aroused by what was done, and the provincial Cortes were hardly more alive than those of Castile. Finally, the Inquisition, which was active under Philip V, weakened considerably with his successor ; and the next reign was to see further changes in the relations of Church and King.

Both Philip and Ferdinand were lovers of art and literature. Learned societies, academies and libraries were founded (see p. 155) under Philip, and under Ferdinand they had time and

opportunity to flourish.[1] New theatres sprang up all over the country. Fashions were predominantly French, but the middle and lower classes, in recovering something of the stability of their existence, reverted to their simple and homely customs of old which we still know to-day.

Ferdinand's successor was his half-brother, **Charles III (1759–1788)**. A man of mature years, with experience of government as King of Naples, he was welcomed heartily on his arrival in Spain by a people no longer cowed by defeat and hunger. He proved to be well deserving of his popularity: far-seeing, patriotic, enlightened, the best ruler Spain had had for generations. In his foreign policy he opposed England, and looked towards France, allowing himself, as his brother had refused to do, to be drawn into the Seven Years War (1756–1763) on the side of France, and making with Louis XV a 'family compact' (1761–1762) which was a defensive alliance against all the world and an offensive and defensive one against Britain.

The principal result of the War to Spain was a reshuffling of her American possessions. A few years later (1770) she quarrelled with England over the Falkland Islands, and, France not aiding her, had to yield. A more successful American quarrel was with Portugal who had attacked Spain's colony of Buenos Aires and was forced to grant her some territory in reparation (1777). But America influenced Spain in a much more serious way when, after the United States had declared their independence and France had supported them against England, Spain (unwisely for a great colonial power, it may be thought) joined France. Once again she used her opportunity to attack Gibraltar in great strength by sea and by land, and once again she failed entirely. Menorca she did recapture, after which she returned, once more in vain, to the siege of Gibraltar (1782). When peace was made in the following year, Menorca was kept by Spain and the Rock by Britain.

It cannot be too much emphasized—there were those who foresaw it at the time, even in Spain—that it was the example of the United States in the first place which fomented unrest and eventually brought revolution in Spanish America. Though Spain had lost islands or patches of territory here and there, her possessions still included practically the whole of South and Central America (with the important exception of Brazil)—territory ruled, either by viceroys or by captains-general, with

[1] From Chapter V it will be seen how large were the contributions made to knowledge by the literature of this epoch, though creatively it was weak.

the same absolute authority as that of the Kings of Spain, and contributing not ungenerously to the coffers of the mother country. Among the reforms of Charles's early years had been the reorganization of his departments for the colonies, which had undoubtedly in the past been greatly neglected. But it was not till after the Declaration of Independence that the viceroyalties of Buenos Aires and Peru began to rebel, and stern suppression was only of avail temporarily.

The remaining wars of Charles III's reign were fought against the Moors, who attacked the Spanish possessions of Ceuta and Melilla in 1775, as a reply to which an unsuccessful Spanish attack was made upon Algiers. After the European peace of 1783 fresh attempts were made by Spain to solve the age-old problem of Moorish piracy. What war could not do was in the end effected by diplomacy, and the Muslim States came to a working arrangement with the Spaniards which put a stop to organized piracy at least, and went a long way towards making Spain's South and East coasts prosperous.

Turning now to the internal history of Spain under Charles III, we have to record amazing strides in her prosperity. At long last her taxes were lightened : the *alcabala* and the *millones*, the most crippling of all, were greatly reduced and in some circumstances abolished, while other taxes were both distributed more equitably than in the past, and collected more economically.[1] Largely through the importation of skilled craftsmen from foreign countries, Spain's former manufactures were revived and new ones started. Agriculture, mining and fishing came to life again spontaneously. New roads and waterways were constructed in great number. Stricter police regulations, at first resented by the people, led to greater national security in the cities. Schools and universities, hospitals and asylums, museums and archives, savings banks and patriotic unions of workers—all came into being in this reign or developed with unprecedented rapidity. It was as though Spain had suddenly awakened to the strides which other nations were making, and indeed this phrase not inaptly describes the effect of Charles's reforms upon her.

Some account must be added of the King's relations with the Church. Conflicts between King and Pope had not been infrequent in the time of the Hapsburgs, and the Bourbons had not been mollified by the support which Rome had given to the Archduke Charles in 1700. But while neither Philip V nor

[1] A new code of laws, known as the Novísima Recopilación, was (in 1806) substituted for the existing code of 1567.

Ferdinand VI was disposed to yield to the Pope his royal authority, Charles III, a good Catholic but a progressive one, went farther in asserting himself than any sovereign who had preceded him. All papal communications, he ordered, must be submitted to the King before publication. The powers of the Inquisition were regulated in some directions and curtailed in others. The Jesuits were expelled from Spain (1767) with unnecessary dispatch and rigour,—a prelude, as it proved, to the suppression of their Order by the Pope, six years later, which lasted until 1814. Together with these drastic measures, a large number of minor reforms in the Spanish Church were made by the King, the general results of which were to increase its efficiency, to curtail the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts and to subject the clergy, inferior and superior, to the King's authority. All these things were done by Charles without reference to his Cortes, for, like his predecessors, he was a thoroughgoing despot : his chief adviser during the first part of his reign was the Count of Aranda, no mere favourite but the responsible ' President of the Council '. This Council, composed of sixteen members, assisted Charles to govern, while a more intimate Council, including chiefly the five secretaries of Departments, was chosen from its members. But Charles and Aranda, together with the Counts of Campomanes and Floridablanca, were the real rulers, and they had undoubtedly some infusion of the new and modern spirit which was shortly to sweep over France with such violence. More prudent than the Bourbons of France, they prepared a foundation on which those very forces that in France worked revolution might have built a prosperous and progressive Spain. Alas, that they had none to carry on their work and that Spain was shortly to sink lower than ever !

Charles III, as he lay dying, knew, as surely as Philip II had known, that his son (b. 1748) was no ruler fit to succeed him. And, of all Spain's royal failures, **Charles IV (1788–1808)** is the most tragic in relation to his country's possibilities. Weak and fearful by nature, he was content to become a nonentity, to be influenced by his wife, Maria Luisa of Parma, and to rely entirely on the counsel of his favourites ; nor did he long retain his father's prudent ministers, Floridablanca and Aranda, exalting to the presidency the notorious Godoy, then (1792) a youth of twenty-five, to the disgust and wrath of his subjects, whom the thirty years' rule of Charles III had educated to expect better things.

The Revolution and the Terror in France left Spain untouched

and, in spite of her disapproval of them, on the one hand, and of France's offers of an alliance on the other, she was able, until the beginning of 1793, to remain neutral. Then, with the execution of Louis XVI, Spanish feeling was roused, and Spain joined the first coalition, though it was France who actually declared war. Considerable enthusiasm was shown by Spaniards for the alliance, but the campaigns were sorely mismanaged, and it was a servile populace in Madrid that welcomed the conclusion of the war (1795) by bestowing on Godoy his well-known title of ' Prince of the Peace '. By the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1796) the countries now became firm allies, but on terms by no means advantageous to Spain, who found herself pledged to join France in any war with Britain.

In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte, with the lustre of his Eastern exploits fresh upon him, returned from Palestine to Paris, overthrew the French Directory and became First Consul. It quickly grew clear that under Napoleon France would dominate Spain still further. The general dislike for Godoy, who was now not only Prime Minister, but Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish army and navy, and the Queen's lover, gave him the opportunity to foster the growth of a party which centred its hopes on Charles's young son Ferdinand (b. 1784). With this weapon ready to his hand, he made increasing use of Spain, leading her at last into a war with England of which the chief event was the disastrous naval battle of Trafalgar (1805).

By this time the supporters of the young and popular prince Ferdinand had grown so greatly in numbers that Napoleon saw no insuperable obstacle to the dethronement of the Bourbons in Spain and the setting up in their place of a puppet under his orders. In 1807, the preliminaries were accomplished in the conquest of Portugal, which could offer but little resistance, Napoleon having persuaded Godoy to allow him to bring his troops through Spain. This conquest was accompanied by the occupation of parts of Northern Spain with hardly a plausible motive. Both Godoy and Charles now divined Napoleon's intentions. The favourite was for resistance and war, but Charles was too craven a soul for anything but submission, and he was supported by the Prince's party, who believed that Napoleon's aim was only to get rid of the favourite. But Charles knew better. A project between Godoy and the King and Queen for their escaping together to Spanish America was interrupted by a riot at Aranjuez (whither the Court had been transferred), and the capture of Godoy by Ferdinand's followers (1808). Charles now lost all discretion, and on March 19 abdicated in favour of

his son, who succeeded to the throne as **Ferdinand VII (1808–1833)**.

His reign began badly, even ludicrously. Napoleon, by announcing a visit to Madrid, enticed the young King first to Burgos, and then as far as Bayonne, to meet him; had him arrested forthwith and forced him by threats to restore the Spanish crown to his father, who, having arrived at Bayonne also, thereupon handed it to Napoleon (May 6). Four days earlier, the famous 'Dos de Mayo' insurrection had taken place in Madrid, when the inhabitants rose in a body against Murat and the French garrison. Although after much bloodshed on both sides they were put down by superior force, the news of their courage flashed through Spain, and even before Napoleon had nominated his brother Joseph as King, the whole country was in arms in defence of Ferdinand.

This was the real beginning of the Peninsular War, known in Spain as the War of Independence. On July 19, 1808, the Spaniards gained a decisive victory at Bailén. Joseph Bonaparte at once fled from the capital and the entry of England on the side of Spain, together with the success of Palafox' magnificent defence of Zaragoza, made things look black for Napoleon, who had badly under-estimated Spain's powers. He had taken the precaution to summon a council of Spanish notabilities at Bayonne (June 15), which naturally (since the more patriotic of those who were summoned refused to attend it) acquiesced in his arrangements. But in Spain the great cities and chief provinces had taken the law into their own hands. They appointed emergency *juntas*, sending representatives to a supreme Junta Central, varying from twenty-four to thirty-five members, which first met at Aranjuez on September 25 and combined legislative functions with executive. In the following January, the Junta Central made a bold bid for the help of Spain's American colonies; in May it decreed the re-establishment of the Cortes. But November saw the Spaniards sorely beaten at Ocaña; Joseph Bonaparte returned to Madrid and resumed his reign; and in the provinces not only did Zaragoza fall to the French after a two months' siege, but the hardly less heroic stronghold of Gerona fell, and a number of other towns in the east. Napoleon, repairing his error, had poured his battalions into Spain; the British, who had been engaged in Portugal, advanced to meet the invaders, but had to retreat from Astorga to La Coruña, where Sir John Moore was mortally wounded. Their action in diverting so great a part of the French forces gave the Spaniards time which was sorely needed, and indeed may be said to have

saved Spain. The Junta, late in 1809, left Aranjuez for Seville, and again, in the New Year, for the Isla de León, near Cádiz. Here it dissolved in favour of a Regency of five members, and a National Assembly of three estates met in September, 1810, the members of which were of necessity chosen arbitrarily since so great a part of Spain was cut off from Cádiz by the enemy. This body was strongly liberal in character: the tasks before it, as may be imagined, were almost insuperable, and not made easier by the determined opposition of the Regency. It was simple, however, for the Assembly to nominate a new Regency of three, of purely nominal authority. On March 19, 1812, the promulgation of a new constitution followed.

This Constitution of 1812 was markedly democratic, to the degree of being revolutionary. Political though not religious liberty is secured by it: the nation alone is sovereign, and the King, who is head of the executive, is required to obey his responsible ministers. The legislative authority is to consist of a single Chamber elected by a manhood suffrage granted to all over the age of twenty-five. These are only a few articles of the new constitution, but they are typical of the rest. It was too progressive for the country as a whole: even under the artificial conditions of the day it was only passed after a struggle, and, with the final defeat of the French invaders, it was doomed.

This defeat had already been prepared, before Ocaña, with the return to Portugal of Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington), who had been originally in command there. He had driven Soult out of Portugal and won the Battle of Talavera (1809). Then he was forced to retreat, but while Andalusia was being conquered and Cádiz besieged, Wellesley was establishing himself immovably in Portugal. Masséna, when he attacked him, could do nothing against the famous lines of Torres Vedras, constructed between the Tagus and the sea. He retreated, and Wellington, after an unsuccessful attempt in each case, took the important cities of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, both near Spain's Portuguese frontier. One further victory at Salamanca, in the summer of 1812, and both Joseph and the French armies began to retire. A huge and determined counter-attack by the forces which retreat had concentrated caused Wellington to fall back again behind Ciudad Rodrigo while Joseph returned to Madrid. But it was for the last time. On June 21, 1813, Wellington gained a brilliant victory at Vitoria, and by the following spring Spain was once more her own mistress.

This, in effect, meant that Ferdinand VII, whom she welcomed, on his return from captivity, as *El Deseado* (March

22, 1814), became her master. He was an even more unpleasant character than his father, spoilt from boyhood by unreasoning adulation, cowardly in adversity and in prosperity tyrannical. The majority of his people were undoubtedly with him when he immediately (May 4, 1814) annulled the decrees of the Assembly, and the Constitution of 1812, which it had proclaimed in Madrid after the Battle of Salamanca. His next acts—the arrest and harrying of those known or believed to harbour Liberal opinions —were less popular in Spain, and resented and condemned both by England and by France. From 1814 to 1820, one piece of the purest tyranny followed another. The King and the little circle of favourites known as his *camarilla* did what they pleased. For the most innocuous offences against the new *régime*, malcontents were summarily executed. Ministers were dismissed by caprice, and imprisoned or exiled without trial. Periodicals, with few exceptions, were suppressed, and foreign publications confiscated at the frontiers. It is not surprising that the *doceañistas* (supporters of the 1812 Constitution) endeavoured to foment revolution, nor that after no more than six years of absolutism they succeeded. The American colonies were getting more and more restive, and it was the assembling of a large Spanish force for service in America that set Spain on fire. On January 1, 1820, an Asturian called Rafael Riego proclaimed the 1812 Constitution and started a rebellion which spread hardly less quickly than that of 1808. Ferdinand, on March 6, capitulated without a struggle, summoned the Cortes, announced all kinds of reforms, and took the oath, almost cheerfully, to observe the 1812 Constitution. The people, incredibly trustful of an untrustworthy king, acclaimed his submission, and three years of Liberal reaction and so-called constitutional government followed.

These years were by no means, however, peaceful. The return of many exiles swelled the numbers, and augmented the violence, of each and all of the discordant progressive parties. Plots for a *coup d'état* were rife from the beginning. Eventually, in 1822, when the Cortes of 1820 dissolved, and a more radical government, under the presidency of Riego, came into power, Ferdinand began to appeal to his supposed friends abroad. In January, 1823, Russia, Prussia, Austria and France intervened by common consent to save Ferdinand from his enemies, who were known as *exaltados* or progressives. Britain, suspecting the motives of French intervention, remained neutral, but France prepared for invasion and the radical government for defence. The invasion took place (April, 1823); the government carried Ferdinand off to Seville and later to Cádiz. Since

he went unwillingly, they appointed a Regency to act for him. Once more adversity brought this unbelievable tyrant popularity: no stronger condemnation of the Liberals than these events can be imagined. By August, the French, openly welcomed by the Spanish people, besieged Cádiz; in October, Ferdinand, set free by his captors only when they saw that no other course was possible, began a new career of tyranny which completely eclipsed his earlier period of freedom.

This third section of his reign lasted from 1823 until his death ten years later. It began with the arrest and execution or banishment of those to whom he had been compelled to promise free pardon, a proceeding which called forth the protests even of the French invaders. Riego was naturally hanged without question of pardon. Coercive measures hitherto unknown were employed for the persecution of everything resembling Liberalism. Not only was the Press muzzled, but universities, societies and clubs were closed as being possible centres of insurrection. Rather than re-establish the recently abolished (1820) Inquisition, the King created a secret body of like aims. His most frenzied supporters are said to have founded in various parts of the country a 'Society of the Exterminating Angel'. It is unnecessary in a brief sketch to give further examples of a tyranny of which the general nature is only too evident. The name of Calomarde, inappropriately named Ferdinand's 'Minister of Justice', stands to Spaniards for the terrors associated with that epoch.

The Liberals being duly suppressed, a new source of danger sprang up to Ferdinand's rule. Impossible as it may seem, there were those who thought he had not gone far enough, and when they found that, under the influence of some temporarily popular adviser, he occasionally slackened his persecution, they began to plot against him in favour of his brother Charles, who, as Ferdinand had no heir, would naturally succeed him. The 'Apostolic' or 'Carlist' party—the first name gave place later to the second—organized in 1827 an open revolt in Catalonia and was temporarily suppressed: the occasion was an opportune one for Ferdinand to receive more protestations of loyalty and acclamations from his loving subjects, which he duly did.

After the Revolution of 1830 in France a number of attempts were made by exiled Spanish Liberals to cross the frontier and revolt once more against Ferdinand. The last and most tragic of these, led by Torrijos, an ex-officer living in London, resulted in the betrayal and slaughter of the leader and his fifty-two

companions, and was the occasion for renewed severity. A fresh expectation, however, had been given to the Liberals, when Ferdinand's third wife died and he married the girl-princess María Cristina of Naples, whose leanings showed themselves quickly to be progressive. On October 10, 1830, she gave birth to a daughter, and the Liberal hopes rose still higher, while those of the Carlists sank correspondingly. Neither party, however, was completely at ease, for the Salic Law had been declared in force in Spain in 1713, and confirmed by the 1812 Constitution, while on the other hand, Charles IV, in 1789, and now, more formally, Ferdinand VII, seven months before his daughter's birth, had declared it to be void. On September 29, 1833, having, in spite of much pressure from the Carlists, bequeathed the crown to his infant daughter, the spoilt, deceitful and tyrannical monarch died.

A complex situation in Spain was produced by Ferdinand's death. For his daughter, proclaimed Queen as **Isabel II (1833–1868)**, María Cristina acted as regent. At the same time, Charles (then in exile) was proclaimed King by his followers, and civil warfare, largely of the guerrilla type, dragged on in Spain till 1840. During most of these years the predominant force in power was moderate Liberalism, partly because otherwise the Carlists would have drawn away the Cristinist adherents, and partly because of the return of the twenty thousand Liberal exiles. Accordingly, the Conservative, Zea Bermúdez, Ferdinand's right-hand minister, was, though loyal to the Cristinists, succeeded in power by the very lukewarm Liberal Martínez de la Rosa. Being only a transition-minister, Martínez resigned after establishing a partly elective parliament of two chambers (*estamentos*), with consultative functions only, and remaining at its head for a year. He was succeeded by his more Liberal supporter, the Conde de Toreno, who in three months gave place to the still more Liberal Mendizábal. The Moderates had done little for Spain but promulgate Martínez' colourless attempt at a constitution called the Estatuto Real. The Radicals, under Mendizábal and (later) José María Calatrava, first restored the 1812 Constitution and later produced a modified and more workable one which is known by its date of 1837. The Moderados, however, were considerably more powerful than the Exaltados, and in the next year (1838) their party was in power again.

Meanwhile, the so-called Carlist War, especially in Navarre and the Basque provinces, and in Catalonia and Aragon, drained the strength of what might have been years of returning prosperity. The Carlists for the most part came from the country

districts: the large towns were Cristinist. In the western storm-centre Tomás Zumalacárregui led the Carlists of Navarre to various useful victories, while Merino concentrated an army at Logroño. The Cristinist armies, under Espoz y Mina and Rodil, were strengthened by the support of Britain, France and Portugal. When the Carlists, hoping for supplies from Austria, Prussia and Russia if they could capture a seaport, besieged Bilbao, they were defeated and Zumalacárregui was mortally wounded.

From this point things went badly with the Carlists. They had Charles among them, 'reigning' in Estella, but their leaders fell, their foreign friends gave them no help and more than a few of their adherents began to despair of gaining their ends by open warfare. The inhuman savagery which from the beginning had distinguished the encounters on both sides was increasing with the losing party's exasperation. The Cristinists had meanwhile discovered the most successful of their generals, Baldomero Espartero, who at the end of 1836, with great brilliance, raised a second siege of Bilbao, and prevented an attack, threatened in desperation, on Madrid. For a time after the Pretender's consequent retreat, his cause seemed to be improving. But his last great general, Ramón Cabrera, left him, with large numbers of men, and an agreement between Espartero and the Carlist leaders brought civil war to a virtual end in 1840.

In politics, as well as in war, Espartero was to become an active if less distinguished participant. Soon after the promulgation of the code of 1837 he joined the Progressive party, and, having triumphed over the Carlists, devoted himself with lightning effect to politics. The Moderado government of 1838 had been succeeded in the next year by an entirely Radical lower chamber, of which Cristina was pleased to show her disapproval by dissolving it. The elections obediently gave a Moderado victory. But this was not Espartero's idea of politics. Cristina's continuous alliance with the Moderates made a Progressive *coup d'état* very practicable. Espartero achieved it: the Queen Mother abdicated and fled to France (October 17, 1840) and he himself became Regent in her stead.

For three years he remained at the head of the executive, a military hero whose popularity, well merited but in peace inclined to be evanescent, could not overcome his political mediocrity. Although he was able to frustrate a conspiracy to seize the young Queen, and a revolt in Barcelona, his hold over the people lessened visibly. Some years before, he had been success-

ful in driving from the country a rival general, Narváez. Now Narváez returned, and Espartero, within an ace of a complete fall and its consequences, left the country immediately for England.

From 1843 to 1854 the Moderates were again in power, the young Queen, though only thirteen years old, being declared of full age by parliament to avoid further problems of the regency. Though a bad queen from first to last—unprincipled, capricious and headstrong—she could look back upon the first years of her rule as comparatively prosperous ones for her country. In 1845, the new Constitution promulgated by Narváez' government, and more conservative than that of 1837, met with general approval. In the next year the Queen made an unfortunate but popular marriage with her cousin Francisco de Asís, Duke of Cádiz; and when the events of 1848 swept over Europe, Narváez, who was again, after a brief interval, in power, proved himself both able and determined to quell such risings as threatened what he complacently considered his 'Liberal' administration.

In 1851, he was succeeded in power by his late finance minister, Bravo Murillo, who began by making financial reforms which were of mixed benefit, and proceeded to an important Concordat with the Pope (see p. 255). Although the Constitutions had one and all upheld the Catholic religion in Spain to the exclusion of every other, relations with Rome had, since Ferdinand's death, been strained to the last degree possible. The suppression of convents, the confiscation of their property, the plundering of almost all the regular Orders, the new suppression of the re-established Jesuits, the abolition of the tithe and the disendowment and nationalization of the secular clergy were an unexampled series of rebuffs. The most flagrant of these were now atoned for, and a number of ecclesiastical reforms, long overdue, agreed upon. Bravo Murillo resigned at the end of 1852 and a period of stress succeeded, culminating in a revolution in the capital which was attended by the loss of a few lives, and the re-elevation to power of none other than Espartero, who had long since declared his willingness to serve his country in this way if it so desired. He was greeted with an effusion of sentiment which recalled his past popularity, and General O'Donnell, the real leader of the revolution, had to be contented with the post of War Minister.

Espartero the Progressive and O'Donnell the Conservative worked together in a coalition for two short years, at the end of which time, as had been generally foreseen, O'Donnell suc-

ceeded to the premiership, though not without violence. The 'Liberal Union' continued, Narváez' 1845 Constitution remaining in vigour. From 1856 to 1868 came a constant alternation of governments, three of them under O'Donnell, and three under Narváez. In 1857 the birth to the Queen of a son made the dynasty for a time reasonably secure. Commercially these were years of prosperity for Spain; while abroad a short but brilliant campaign against Morocco brought into the limelight another military hero and amateur politician, General Prim. Less fortunate were Spain's relations with America. Space has not permitted us in this chapter to outline the history of how nearly all her colonies in America obtained their independence between 1810 and 1824, so that only Cuba and Porto Rico now remained to her. Peru, however, had fallen behind the other colonies in her degree of independence, and certain rights which Spain still retained in the young republic became the cause of a brief war which ended indecisively. Prim chose this very time to negotiate a military revolt which was handled by Narváez and O'Donnell with their usual severity, and thus failed. When O'Donnell died in 1867, and Narváez early in 1868, it was evident that any other such attempt would have a greater chance of success. In September, 1868, hastened by impolitic acts of González Bravo, the new premier, the attempt came. Starting as a mutiny, in Cádiz, the Liberal fortress of sixty years before, the revolution spread quickly to Seville, Granada and the east: Madrid and the north-west followed. Isabel, who was at San Sebastián, moved quickly into France as a measure of safety. It was as well: she was dethroned without bloodshed and by the voice of general opinion. Both her private life and her public life had been a disgrace to the title of Queen.

The dethronement of Isabel brought the country face to face with serious problems. There was a two to one majority in parliament for a monarchy, but where could a monarch be found? The Bourbons were now taboo: Espartero, it appeared, might have been elected but was unwilling to succeed the queen to whom he had once been regent. Abroad, the King of Portugal, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg his father, and Leopold of Hohenzollern all refused. Not till the end of 1870 did **Amadeo** of Savoy, Duke of Aosta, accept the crown. He was unlucky as well as unhappy, for Prim, who could have helped him and had chiefly desired him, was assassinated on the day of the new sovereign's landing. No single group in the country welcomed his rule, while three groups, strong and increasing in strength daily, were respectively Republican, Alfonsist and

Carlist. After five ministries had fallen and he himself had been fortunate enough to escape assassination, Amadeo abdicated (February, 1873).

This short experience of a foreign ruler turned the country even more completely republican than it had recently been monarchist. A majority in parliament of no less than eight to one established a Republic, which in 1873 alone had four presidents, and was entirely unable to restrain anarchy or prevent a vigorous recrudescence of the Carlist War. This, especially in Catalonia and Aragon, spread rapidly; once more long-suffering Bilbao was invested; and when that siege was raised, Irún. Pi y Margall, Castelar and Sagasta were better statesmen than the generals of the preceding generation, but they must all have seen that Spain would only be content with a monarchy. One simple event sufficed to prove this. Isabel's son Alfonso attained the royal age of majority (sixteen years) in November, 1874: the next month he issued a prudent manifesto in which he endeavoured to unite in his favour all the parties. Sagasta and a few convinced republicans held out, but only for a time, against the inevitable. At the beginning of 1875, the boy-king entered Spain as **Alfonso XII** (**1874–1885**).

Perhaps it is from 1874 that one should date Spain's still rising prosperity. The country as a whole received Alfonso gladly; a year was sufficient to end all serious Carlist risings; the Republicans in a body, Sagasta included, became liberal monarchists, and the Powers and the Holy See both recognized the new *régime*. Alfonso's greatest boon was the support of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, the greatest statesman of his age, who as a youth had been an adherent of O'Donnell but was now a man of mature and moderate views and in his prime. The Constitution of 1876, which was his work, was based on that of 1845, which he admired greatly. It declared Spain a constitutional monarchy, with two legislative chambers of equal powers: the Senate, of 360 members, partly hereditary, partly appointed, and partly elected, and the Congress of 431 deputies elected by taxpayers. The problem of religious toleration was solved by a compromise, to the satisfaction of all but extremists. Wise provisions were made for local government. Provincial privileges (notably in the Basque provinces) were, with the slightest exceptions, abolished.

For eight years Spain had been at war with Cuba, though events at home had overshadowed the fact, and it was only now that a determined attempt was made to end the conflict. Peace was concluded in February, 1878: it may be said at once,

however, that Spain continued to be troubled by Cuba until her misgovernment of it led to the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Little more need be said of Alfonso XII's reign, during which the country continued to make slow but steady progress. Cánovas was for the most part at the helm, and the ideals of the Liberal leader Sagasta were not greatly unlike his own. But tragedy befell the throne. The young King, when twenty years of age, married his cousin, to whom he was devoted, and who died of fever a few months later. In the next year he married María Cristina, daughter of an Austrian Archduke, and six years later died, leaving his queen with two infant daughters and in expectation of another child, pending the birth of which Spain was in effect without a sovereign. Alfonso XII was a well-meaning ruler, of undoubted culture, vicious habits and indomitable bravery,—a King for whom one cannot but feel sympathy, the more so in view of his troubled life and private sorrows.

On May 17, 1886, the Queen Regent's son was born and became, at birth, King **Alfonso XIII**, who still reigns. During the dramatic months of the interregnum all parties had rallied round the dynasty and behaved with great moderation ; Sagasta remained in power till 1890, while María Cristina for her part was equally ideal as the regent of her country and the mother of her delicate baby son. The ex-Queen Isabel molested her daughter-in-law as she had molested her son, but was forced at length by public opinion and private pressure to leave the country. Sagasta was succeeded in office peacefully by Cánovas, who found himself faced with universal suffrage, of which he himself disapproved, but which Sagasta had introduced before his resignation. Two questions only presented grave difficulties during the 'nineties : the first was connected with the few but clamant Radical extremists, the second with America.

Neither Cánovas nor Sagasta, either jointly or alternately, could conciliate the small band of Republicans which had not already turned Monarchist. In the industrial centres of Spain, such as Barcelona and Bilbao, the rise of socialism, not to say communism, and anarchy, caused the authorities grave misgivings. Bomb-throwing was bad enough, but that the ultra-progressive forces should unite and sink their differences would be worse. Financial reforms in 1893 bade fair to provoke such a climax when a welcome diversion arose in a brief dispute in Morocco, upon the cessation of which Sagasta was able to hold the reins of government firmly until the less welcome American diversion dwarfed every other question.

That Cuba's independence was imminent few doubted when a new revolution broke out there in the spring of 1895 just as Cánovas was for the last time succeeding Sagasta. Ever since 1874, Cánovas had demanded complete submission from the colony and had promised reform as a reward for this only. The Cubans were obdurate; their insurrection became a warfare, which extended to the Philippine Islands; and to make matters worse for Spain, the United States now supported the insurgents and for four months took up arms in defence of her. The shortness of the conflict was caused by the ease with which Spain was defeated. Off Cuba and the Philippines alike, her navy was routed. In the autumn of 1898 came peace, bringing Cuban independence, the cession of Porto Rico to the United States and the sale to the States of Spain's remaining possessions in the Pacific. Thus came to an end the extensive colonial system of a great people. The event is more important than it might at first sight appear. For Spain began now to turn her gaze exclusively upon herself, and though unrelieved introspection may be harmful in the extreme to an individual, it is seldom a remedy too drastic for an unhappy nation.

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[See also many of the works referred to under Chapter IX below, and Nos. 16, 32, 39, 77.]

CHAPTER IV

SPANISH LITERATURE TO 1681 [1]

I. The Mozarabs

THE irruption into Spain of Tārik and his Berbers in the year 711, though it severs the ancient from the mediaeval history of the Peninsula, did not occasion great displacements either of wealth or of population. The Jews had been active partisans of the invasion, the Hispano-Romans stood by their estates and cities, and a powerful faction of the Goths had even proved to be the cause of the success of the invader. Andalusia therefore retained that supremacy of comfort and education which Bætica had possessed in Roman times, and it was from Andalusia that one would expect to get the first dawn of a new modern literature. But though the Spanish mass of the new state continued to use their own dialect of Romance and were not harassed by persecution or proselytization, the attraction of the Arabic language and culture proved so great that by the ninth century it seemed to be on the point of superseding entirely the native speech for all politer uses. The language of Islam inferred a peril to Christianity, and the more zealous Christians deplored the inability of their co-religionists to write a tolerable epistle in the tongue of Christendom. In furtherance of a programme of religious and linguistic renaissance, Eulogius, a priest of Córdoba, was dispatched to Navarre in search of satisfactory models of classical Latinity. On his return, his policy reached a crisis through the fanatical denunciation by a Spanish Moor of the 'apostasy' of his sister, a beautiful girl named Flora, who had, though the child of a Muslim father, been reared in the tenets of our faith by a Christian mother. This unnatural prosecution was repugnant to

[1] While it is impossible, in this chapter and the next, to indicate precisely which of the many authors treated are suitable for reading by those who are not professed students of Spanish literature, it may be noted that, with few exceptions, the names of the most important authors and works are followed by their dates (where these are known), while the less important are undated.

Christians and Muslims alike; but Eulogius and his biographer Álvaro developed their defence of Flora into a doctrine inciting the Christians to seek martyrdom voluntarily by infringing Koranic principles. An orgy of suicide raged among the most ardent adherents of Latin and Christianity, and, though their leader died as he had advised others to die, his propaganda suffered a fatal check both on its religious and its literary side. Towards the end of the same century a Mozarab, Omar ibn Hafsun, attempted to organize revolt among the Spanish elements on a racial basis, to which he later added a religious motive; but he, too, failed, and the Caliphate of Abd ar-Rahman III appeared to be more homogeneously Muslim and Arabic than the Emirate had ever been. Later in the tenth century the religious wars of Al-Mansur began to infuse bigotry into Cordoban statecraft, and the fanatical rule of the Almoravides and Almohades in the two centuries that followed, besides bearing heavily on Muslim philosophy and science, drove the more intelligent and resolute Jews and Mozarabs into the districts which the Christian kings were rapidly subjugating in the Tagus and Ebro valleys.

Thus the rise of a Hispano-Latin literature in Andalusia was frustrated, but the work of the Mozarabs was not wholly undone. They brought a high standard of culture with them into the north, and numerous important writers of the Alfonsine period appear to belong to their numbers. They brought to Christendom their knowledge of Arabian science at the moment when it was being extinguished by orthodox bigotry in its own territory. Their dialect succumbed to that of Castile, but to the latter they added the rich vocabulary of Arabisms which had adorned their own. They first, as it seems, appreciated the historic value of the Cid, and they created and brought with them one of the most fecund of Spanish historical legends, that of Don Rodrigo or the Destruction of Spain.

II. The Alfonsine Empire

The terms 'empire' and 'emperor' were first used by the kings of León in order to mark their hegemony over the other princes who occupied the ancient realms of the Visigothic kings. They asserted the unity of the Peninsula as a heritage from the Cæsars, and this unity and hegemony were in a manner acknowledged by the other petty kinglets of the Christians. The most reluctant of the Spanish territories was the county of Castile under the renowned Count Fernán González; but when, in the eleventh century, the balance of power in the joint kingdom of

Castile-León lay in fact in the eastern member, the terms served to cover the aspirations of Castile herself to control the destinies of the Peninsula not only in her own province but also in the kingdom of Aragon and the county of Portugal. The title was favoured by a succession of Alfonsos, notably those numbered VI, VII, VIII and X, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This, however, was the epoch of the pullulation of the literature of Christian Spain, and nowhere is the 'empire' more distinctly felt than in the earnestness with which the emperors forwarded the interests of learning. Works of history were performed at their orders and inspired by their ambitions. They invited foreign scholars and poets to their courts. The eighth and tenth Alfonsos were conspicuous for their hospitality to the troubadours of Provence ; the sixth was the most zealous partisan of the civilization of France. Under his auspices the abbots of Cluny filled the benefices of Spain with their monks, reformed the handwriting of the scriptoria, restored Spanish Latinity, purged the ritual. They fomented mass movements of Frenchmen into Spain, whether as pilgrims to the shrine of St. James or as crusaders ; and the pilgrims and crusaders trod out the 'French Way' from the Pyrenees to Compostela and formed 'French suburbs' in the cities on the route. It was in these movements that certain French epics, notably the *Chanson de Roland*, appear to have found their inspiration. But the French pilgrim-*jongleur* would find at the court of an Alfonso VII numerous Castilian *juglares* just as the Provençal troubadour there met the lyrists of Galicia. The reports of Jews and Mozarabs, particularly those resident at Toledo, made an awakening Europe aware of the treasures of Greek learning concealed in the commentaries of Avicenna, Averroes and their peers ; and accomplished Latinists began to cross the frontiers to find in Toledo not only the new light but also the active favour of the king and the archbishop, the necessary dragomans, and not infrequently Spanish benefices to supply the means of existence.

The Hispano-Latin literature of the north of Spain takes to itself an unwonted dignity, and aspires to a purity and elegance unknown since the days of Isidore of Seville. The feats of Alfonso VI fire with patriotism an unnamed monk of Silos, though his Chronicle does not reach to that monarch's reign ; the more pretentious seventh Alfonso (the *emperador* above all others to the epic poets) has his special record in history ; his Chronicle even aspiring to include a specimen of the author's skill as a Latin poet, viz., the well-known 'Song of Almería' (captured in 1147). A Latin chronicle, longer than these of

the kings, celebrates not unworthily the career of Ruy Díaz de Bivar,—' My Cid ',—and his astonishing fidelity in banishment and uninterrupted career of victory. The Cid also had his meed of Latin verse, the semi-popular Sapphic poem, which opens with a minstrel's invocation to the people :

> Eia, laetando, populi catervae,
> cuncti venite . . .

In the early years of the thirteenth century historical writing acquires more philosophical and more popular content. World history is attempted first by Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, in the province of Santiago de Compostela, and Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, the latter being both a competent Arabist and a historian of more acumen than many of his successors. With their wider horizons, both Lucas and Rodrigo unite a more intense interest in the riches of the national intellect, for both make what use they can of the colour and vivacity with which historical events were invested by the singers of the national epics. The epics of France were the more peculiar interest of another archbishopric of the ' empire ', that of Santiago, which, in support of its claims to the primacy, forged and put into circulation the notorious Codex Calixtinus, of which one portion, the Life of Charlemagne and Roland, fathered on to Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, was one of the most influential works in mediaeval European literature.

In addition to histories, sincere or perfidious, the Alfonsine empire made important additions to the Latin literature of law, romance and science. In the domain of law it kept in circulation the Forum Judicum, or code of the later Visigoths, an expression of the legal unity of the Peninsula. To the development of the novel the converted Jew, Pedro Alfonso (his second name is an allusion to his royal patron), contributed his eleventh-century collection of apologues entitled the *Discipline of the Clergy*, in which he drew copiously on the stores of apologues transmitted by the Arabic invaders and settlers from Syria, Persia and India. The exploitation of Arabian science was especially the province of scholars from beyond the Pyrenees, such as Gerard of Cremona, Robert of Retines, Daniel Morley, Michael Scot, and others ; but among the earliest and most clearly characterized of these thinkers are Gonzalo of Segovia and his interpreter, John of Seville. One of the latest of the strangers, Herman, became not only Bishop of Astorga but also a collaborator with Alfonso X in the first vernacular Spanish translation of the Psalms, and it may be said that the mechanism of translation from the Arabic

used by Alfonso in his vernacular works on scientific subjects is an inheritance from that association of Latinists with Jewish and Mozarabic interpreters which is frequently termed the 'School of Toledo'.

The Hispano-Latin literature of the period attracts attention not to itself but to the vigorous and almost vocal vernacular. The national epics and those of France can be perceived in action behind the prose of the historians and the Pseudo-Turpin. The laws of the Visigoths were soon to be applied to the special case of Córdoba by Ferdinand III, and under Alfonso X to become part of a great advance towards the unification of the Spanish codes. Apologues of oriental origin appear among the earliest examples of vernacular prose; and the means were created for enriching Spanish literature with some of the history, astrology and other sciences or pseudo-sciences of the more cultured South.

From a very early time clerics in their sermons and public entertainers in their performances must have felt the necessity for employing the language of the mass of the people, with the result that a species of spoken literature in the vernacular tongue considerably antedates extant documents. By the twelfth century these entertainers had come to be known as *juglares* and were especially numerous in the court of Alfonso VII 'the Emperor', but could also be met with in the courts of prominent nobles, at fairs, weddings and pilgrimages, and wherever crowds gathered together. Clad in picturesque garments, the *juglares* travelled on horse or on foot from place to place, and also were wont to undertake journeys in order to learn from celebrated minstrels a new trick, tune or poem, to add to their repertory. The whole art of public entertainment was termed *juglaría*, from bear-wrestling and sword-swallowing to music and poetical recitation, but for literature only the last-named groups are of importance. The *juglar* was a performer, an artist; the public did not think of the author, except in the courtly branch of literature which came with the troubadours from Provence. We can thus make the convenient distinction that the national epics constitute the *mester de juglaría*, of anonymous authorship, learned by rote and then considered to be the property of the performer who 'represented' the story; while lyrical poetry can be styled the *poesía trobadoresca*. Within lyrical poetry, however, the words 'troubadour' and 'minstrel' have a further special application, owing to the ambition of the authors or troubadours to arrogate to themselves the whole faculty of composition, and to restrict the minstrels to mere performance

of the works of others; owing further to the social division between the troubadours, who ranked from squires to kings and ostensibly did not work for pay, and the minstrels, who were commoners and professional entertainers. The word *juglar*, which covers all entertainers, covers also those clerics who used vernacular literature to spread among their less erudite contemporaries a knowledge of religious legends, classical history or foreign tales; but the special description and grouping of these authors, and their insistence on a reformed versification, gives their art the name of *mester de clerecía*. The earliest poetry of Spain, therefore, is the work of *juglares* who wrote and performed national or Carolingian epic poems or *cantares de gesta*, of *trobadores* who composed the music and words of lyrical compositions for minstrels to sing, and of *clérigos* who aspired to give their works greater artistic perfection and learned content. In respect of language, the *juglares* (in the limited sense) employed by preference Castilian, the *trobadores* Galician, and the *clérigos* mixed literary dialects with a Castilian basis.

The *cantares de gesta* were, as we have seen, composed by a *juglar* or professional entertainer, and taught by rote to other *juglares*, who then became owners of the matter and at entire liberty to refashion it. The tradition was essentially oral; manuscripts served chiefly as mnemonics. For that reason, and others, written records of their work are extremely difficult to come by, and when found are seen to be executed with the greatest haste and slovenliness. Only the *Poem of the Cid* preserves a form sufficiently similar to that in which it was composed, and this in a manuscript so late and so careless that the labour of editing it has outlasted a whole century of the most acute scholarship. A second poem, dealing with that hero's youthful exploits, is still later; it is incomplete, extravagant and constantly lapsing into prose. A hundred lines survive describing Charlemagne's visit to the stricken field of Roncesvalles, and about an equal number have been excavated from later chronicles relating the tragic history of the Seven Princes of Lara. But the great mass of the *cantares de gesta* or *mester de juglaría* has to be inferred from the prose renderings in the various redactions of the *General Chronicle* (*Estoria de España* or *Primera, Segunda, Tercera* (etc.), *Crónica General*), of which the first dates from 1289. From these prose texts we find that a large number of narratives, historical in subject and poetical in manner, were in circulation during the thirteenth century and earlier, and that these already constituted a running poetical history of the country. The tale of King Roderic (Rodrigo)

the Goth and his illicit love for Count Julian's daughter, which led to the Arab invasion and the ruin of Spain, arose among the Christians of Andalusia, and from them passed not only to the Christians of the North but also across the Pyrenees into France, where it gave rise to the epic of *Anseis de Karthage*. Its existence as an epic in Spain is less firmly assured: here it gained satisfactory expression twice, as a tradition repeated by Muslim historians, and as a fifteenth-century novel of chivalry, the *Crónica Sarracina*. The story of Bernardo del Carpio has the singularity of being a Leonese work: its principal matter relates to the hero's efforts to liberate his father from a tyrannous incarceration, but the ascription in one of its episodes of Roland's defeat and death at Roncesvalles to Bernardo's exploits rapidly overshadowed the rest of the work, and became very popular with the anti-French patriotism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The theme of the liberation of Castile from the suzerainty of León furnished a subject to an epic called by the name of the first independent count, Fernán González: the epic has been obscured by its rehandling in the *Poema de Fernán González* (see p. 101), a clerical and erudite work which was alone reported by the scribes of the first redaction of the *General Chronicle*, but the second redaction of that history (1344) contains important reminiscences of the *cantar de gesta*. As we have it in the clerical poem, this epic has flashes of national and regional spirit, but is overloaded with historical and hagiographical matter, while the metrical alterations have made it frequently wordy and didactic. The son of the first count was himself the subject of a short adaptation of a French epic plot, but is better known as the ruler of Castile during the story of the Seven Princes of Lara (*Los siete infantes de Salas o de Lara*), a sanguinary story of murder and vengeance, which is the most vehement and tragic of all the stories that have come down to us. The terrible scene in which Almanzor (Al-Mansur) displays to Gonzalo Gustos the seven heads of his sons is tragic to the point of horror, and the scene of their requital by Mudarra, a personage born only for vengeance, at the expense of the treacherous Ruy Velázquez de Lara, is a fitting conclusion, to which Victor Hugo has done much less than justice in a celebrated *Orientale*. The most powerful of the *cantares de gesta*, this poem is also probably one of the earliest.

Poems whose action belongs to a later date have been attracted into the orbit of Ruy Díaz de Bivar, known as Mío Cid ('My Cid'), who was compared, even in his genealogy, with Fernán González, the founder of Castilian greatness. Before 1160, a

poem was composed relating to the death of Sancho of Castile before the walls of Zamora, and as reported in the Chronicles it was completed by an account of a duel, of undecided result, intended to determine the complicity or otherwise of the inhabitants of the town. In this poem the Cid functioned as the sage adviser and supporter of Sancho, and the arbiter of the succeeding contest: he is clothed with the gravity which he shows in the celebrated *Poema de Mío Cid* (*c.* 1140). In this latter a *juglar* tells in rugged metre and rapid style, redeemed with few touches of imagination, almost wholly devoid of the supernatural, sage, virile, and sublime by the mere importance of its matter, the story of the last banishment of the hero, how he wins the renewed favour of his king, and how, in the king's court, he obtains formal satisfaction for the injuries inflicted on him by his enemies the powerful Beni-Gómez. The lever whereby the Cid overthrows his enemies is the wanton outrage inflicted on his daughters by their husbands, two of the Beni-Gómez, notorious for ever under the style of the 'infantes de Carrión'. Relatively little prominence is given, despite the manifest historicity of the poem, to the Cid's 'crowning mercy'—the capture of Valencia in 1094. The whole of the Cid's military career is looked upon as his means of reconciling his king, estranged through slanderous counsel; and the poet displays a lively interest only in campaigns and journeys within a comparatively short radius from Medinaceli, of which he may have been a native. The date *c.* 1140 is generally, though not universally, ascribed for its composition. A third poem on this hero, the *Mocedades del Cid*, was recorded only later than the *First General Chronicle*, and is best known from the degenerate and prosy *Crónica Rimada* or *Cantar de Rodrigo*. It was written round the tradition of the Cid's five pitched battles ('cinco lides campales'), fought and won in his youth, which had already occupied the pen of the writer of the dog-Latin Sapphic verses. This is the Cid of the ballads, arrogant, lawless, braggart, extravagant in his insults to his betrothed, his king, and to pope and emperor. This Cid has the heady insolence, but not yet the licentiousness, of Don Juan.

At the court of Alfonso VII, the emperor beloved of the epic poets, figured the earliest known minstrel of Galicia, Palha ('Straw') by name. To his court, too, came courtly lyrists from Provence along with the minstrels of the *chansons de geste*; and the troubadours increased in numbers and importance when Eleanor of Aquitaine became Alfonso VIII's queen. Their

permeation was doubtless assisted by the prolongation of their lyrism at this time throughout the whole Catalan-speaking region, which belonged in politics and in culture essentially to the South of France until Northern French influence became paramount in Provence and Toulouse by the Battle of Muret (1213). Catalan troubadours are only faintly distinguishable in style from their instructors : they are, as one might expect, of later general date, their tone is more didactic, their versification less free and rich, and their preoccupation with linguistic purism, in face of the increasing divergence of Limousin and Catalan, gave rise to interesting grammars for the use of poets, and even to the first chair of a modern language ever established in a European university. This stream of influence from the south-east met, in the courts of Castile and León, a stream from the north-west. The monarchs were themselves generally educated in Galicia, and to them Galician would be their mother tongue; the speech of affection and sentiment, even when another dialect might be used for administration,—the speech of the lyrical muse, though the epic and historic might use Castilian. This is not to deny the existence of native Castilian or Leonese songs, which we can dimly perceive arising out of the necessities either of lonely workers, such as sentinels, reapers, travellers, etc., or of companies performing the same action to the same rhythm, dancers or pilgrims. It is only to aver that what has survived to us, being transmitted solely in collections of courtly origin, is stamped by the preference the monarchs gave to the Galician idiom, which is used for these purposes by Portuguese, Castilians and even Italians as well as Galicians of pure descent.

A further reason, however, for the use of this idiom is the unbroken predilection of the Galician people for lyrical expression. Their idiom is destitute of all successful narrative, whether in prose or verse, but in the mouths of women is improvised with startling facility into snatches of song, whether humorous, elegiac or sentimental. In our day these improvisations are generally in the form of quatrains : in the Middle Ages they were *cossantes*. The *cossante* centres on a brief refrain or lyrical cry, themes which could be collected into one poem (as in a famous case by Airas Nunes) or variously glossed : in one or two cases, indeed, they have furnished the refrain for Castilian *villancicos*. In the *villancico* the refrain is glossed in lyrico-narrative verses, frequently of eight octosyllables : in the *cossantes* the gloss consists of little more than an indication of circumstances, very faintly sketched in, and developed in couplets of almost identical meaning but diverse assonance. The first and second couplets

are identical in sense ; if there be a third and fourth, these are identical in meaning to each other, and their first lines are the second lines of the first and second couplets ; and so further verses may be added. The device is of the simplest, but so are the thought and the language ; and in their unaffected beauty, echoing cadence, alternation of treble and bass intonation, and sincere, universal emotion, the *cossantes*, mostly expressed through the mouths of women, are clothed with persuasive charm. In our authorities they are generally accompanied by the names of male poets, who either composed or collected them, or were the authors of new or adapted music; among the most eminent are King Diniz of Portugal (d. 1325), who has passed on to us the most graceful of *cossantes* as a relief to the over-elaboration of his Provençal Muse, Airas Nunes of Santiago, João Zorro, a minstrel, author of delightful barcaroles, Martin Codax, singer of the Bay of Vigo, Admiral Pai Gomez Charinho, who carries the sea into his verses, Meendinho and others. The *cossantes* are heard for the last time in the plays of Gil Vicente.

These charming songs make their appearance in the official collections of lyrics only at a late date and by way of relief to troubadours who felt that the artificial style of verse and tune was becoming monotonous to themselves and their hearers. The earliest such collection is the *Cantigas de Santa María* by Alfonso X of Castile-León (see p. 49), in which only every tenth piece is truly lyrical. The remainder, from among some four hundred poems, are narrative or episodic, brief accounts of miracles performed by the Blessed Virgin, either as they were recorded in standard collections or as they happened within the King's own experience. The narrative is of a convincing *naïveté*, which conveys to a modern reader a pleasant, though erroneous, sense of humour. In his versification, Alfonso, who here worked more personally than elsewhere—though the illuminations of the Escorial manuscript show that he was not without clerical assistance—displays great curiosity and employs a considerable variety of lines, combinations and rhyme-patterns. He is not the most lyrically gifted, but he is the ablest and most fluent technician of the Galician school. In profane verse he carried this technique to the point of scurrilous controversy, insisting on the necessity of still further provençalizing and elaborating both the manner and the matter of the courtly lyric, denouncing the vague, naïve Provençalism which had satisfied the poets of his father's court at Seville, Bernardo de Bonaval and Pedro da Ponte. In this protest he was followed by his grandson, Diniz King of Portugal, to whose son Pedro, Count of Barcellos, is

ascribed the collection of the courtly lyric into a song-book or *Cancioneiro*, which remains to-day in three manuscripts known respectively as those of the Ajuda and Vatican Palaces and the Colocci-Brancutti text. Primarily a collection of the songs in favour at Diniz's court, these manuscripts contain also what was then remembered of the lyrical activity of the courts of Alfonso IX, Afonso III of Portugal, St. Ferdinand, Alfonso X, as well as works posterior to Diniz. The *cossantes* enter as *cantigas de amigo* or songs directed by the lady to her lover, or under other denominations. The poems of courtly lovers are styled *cantigas de amor* and are stiff with the feudal conventions and protestations of the Provençal muse, without any touch of its later philosophism. In these two classes almost a thousand lyrics may be entered, the most considerable artists being Alfonso X, Diniz, Estevão da Guarda, etc. Minor erotic poems are styled dance-songs, pastorals, barcaroles, hill-maidens' songs (*serranilhas*), dawn-songs, etc. They are usually popular in style and simple in construction, with a notable absence of narrative or realistic tendencies. Apart from love we have the motive of scorn (*escarnio*), and in that vein some hundreds of satirical verses which, if they do not attain to poetry and are normally frivolous and insincere, powerfully document the social life of the time, and particularly the day-to-day incivilities of the Court. They tell us better than any other source what were the pretensions and disappointments, what the rivalries and vices, the clothes and conversation of minstrels at a mediaeval court in their dealings with 'minstrelized' nobles and kings.

We must not forget that the text of these songs was conditioned by their tune (*som*). Unfortunately the Ajuda scribe failed to enter the notes, and all the tunes have been lost save two settings for Martin Codax' Vigo poems. The music of Alfonso X's book of sacred lyrics is extant, though it would be risky to generalize inferences based on so personal a work; on the other hand, the miniatures which adorn his manuscript are of the highest use as a commentary and extension of the social information contained in the satires of the *Cancioneiros*.

Codes of law and documents of the archives indicate a considerable mimetic activity during the Middle Ages in Spain, displayed especially during religious and civil festivals, together with notes as to cost, decoration, tableaux and the difficulties of controlling the license of performers. But literature offers us only the fragment of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*. Written probably in the later years of the twelfth century, and approxi-

mating to the model of the Orléans Twelfth Night play, it is one of the oldest documents in Spanish literary history, while its orthography makes it probably the oldest in actual condition of record. The piece is not without a certain humour, shown in the truncated squabble of a couple of rabbis : it is written in rhymed couplets, whose varied length seems to anticipate an important feature of the technique of the *comedia libre*. Whatever may have been the content and interest of this lost dramatic literature, it is safe to say that the highest dramatic talent of the Middle Ages found its expression in other moulds, as in Juan Ruiz's *Libro de Buen Amor*.

The clerks (*clérigos*) distinguished their style from that of the minstrels (*juglares*), just as the troubadours from their *juglares*, by the test of counted syllables. This has been held to imply that the epics were composed in lines distinguished by medial pause and final assonance, but without rhythm or reckoning of syllables (*poesía amétrica*); but other authorities hold that the difference on which the clerks insist is, like that of the Galician troubadours, rather one of degree, that the minstrel trusted to his ear and the cleric to his fingers. The clerical lines are, however, still far from regular in scansion, even when all deductions are made for doubtful cases. They use by preference the alexandrine in longer poems, the nine-syllable line (which represents a French octosyllable) in shorter : their alexandrines are formed up in quatrains of one rhyme, which, with their obligatory medial pause, have a slow ponderous movement, forcibly contrasted with the single line unit of the epic singer. These quatrains (*cuaderna vía*) were esteemed for their greater artifice (*maestría*) ; but, apart from this formal advantage, their quadruplicity extending into the style itself makes them an easy prey to padding and *longueurs*, and demands from a successful author as a conspicuous quality a tireless volubility. These poems are all narratives, apart from the fragment of drama already discussed ; they draw on varied sources, and being written in connection with monasteries rather than with the Court, they characterize the Alfonsine period chiefly by their indecision of literary speech, ranging from the Leonese Castilian of one manuscript of the Alexander story, through the Riojan of Berceo, and the Aragonese Castilian of the Apollonius of Tyre poem, to the *Libre dels tres Reys d'Orient*, with its Catalan connections. As the work of clerks, the new poetry of the thirteenth century was from the beginning recorded in permanent written form, though the authors did not the less aspire to public recitation (Berceo styles

himself a *juglar*) and were actually so performed : for this reason their works have persisted to our day in numbers that much exceed their merit, especially when we think of the almost total loss of national epics in their original dress.

To the clerks belongs also the first name of Spanish literature, that of Gonzalo de Berceo, a lay member of the Benedictine community of San Millán de la Cogolla, in La Rioja, who lived through the first sixty years of the thirteenth century. Very few of his myriad verses go aside from the ' fourfold way ', and with this monotony of metre goes a monotony of matter, which is with him religious only, and a monotony of style. Berceo would be the last man in the world to claim to be a great poet, but beneath a uniformity not dissimilar to the Castilian uplands of his birth he masks homely and endearing qualities. Many shrewd touches in his lives of St. Millán and St. Domingo of Silos are suggested to him by his personal knowledge of day-to-day monastic life ; his humility gains a reader's attention, which is then held by his naïve garrulity and transparent sincerity. Before long one begins, as it were, to answer back when Berceo colloquially invites the reader to advise him how the tale shall be told, and the candid local patriotism of his three lives of Spanish saints (Millán, Domingo de Silos, and Oria) comes upon us with a subdued but steady glow. His most ambitious work is the collection of twenty-five *Miracles of Our Lady*, which have parallels in Alfonso X and Gautier de Coincy, even if some of them be not drawn from the latter's more ample narratives. To Berceo a Paris manuscript ascribes the Book of Alexander (*Libro de Alexandre*—after 1218), which a Madrid codex of Leonese cast attributes to a certain Juan Lorenzo of Astorga, whether as author or copyist. Nothing is further from Berceo's style than this, the most pretentious and erudite of its class. The poet, far from concealing his skill, parades his reading and technical efficiency. His verse (he says) is not *juglaría*, but the syllables are counted, the lines are rhymed in sequences of four, and the whole is to be taken as ' great mastery '. The length of the poem equals all Berceo's assured productions, and, amid the *longueurs* of this interminable mediaeval tale, the poet is at his best in moments of display, when he is describing the pomp of King Darius or the procession of the months or of Spring. A third early work of this school is the Book of Apollonius of Tyre (*Libro de Apolonio*), which versifies at one or two removes the Greek novel, whose matter is to be found in Gower and in Shakespeare's *Pericles of Tyre*. The author has to struggle against the naïve improbabilities of a Greek romance of adventure with

its arbitrary separations and unlikely reunions; but within the defects of his matter the poet contrives to be nervous and concise, to make the lumbering metre do double its usual work, and to create in the *juglaresa* Tarsiana a character of quite unexpected charm and actuality. This unknown cleric is, despite a certain dryness, probably the ablest of the earlier versifiers in the ' fourfold way '.

Very far from this eminence stand two other poems. The *Poema de Fernán González* (*c.* 1255) is termed by the scribes of the *General Chronicle* a ' history ', and rightly so. A rambling preface versifies the *Chronicon Mundi* of the Bishop of Tuy, and when the tale of Fernán González's exploits is at last reached it is loaded down with the interests of the author's monastery at Arlanza and with historical matter which in no way forwards the main action. The poet is an unskilful metrist and not infrequently at a loss for a rhyme or half line. Even at this he is superior to the anonymous Muslim who wrote in Arabic characters the Poem of Joseph (*Alhadiz de Yuçuf* or *Poema de José*), who struggles with his illiteracy in the attempt to produce the most considerable unit in a depressed literature, that of the Muslims subject to Christian rule. This *literatura aljamiada* or ' barbarians' literature ' flourished chiefly in Aragon and during the sixteenth century, the date of Mahoma Rabadán, with a repertory of tales, exhortations to devotion and treasonable hopes for the success of the Turks cloaked in the impenetrability of the Arabic alphabet. As for the Joseph poem, it is not easy to determine its date, which may ascend as high as the thirteenth century.

Of lesser clerical poems we recall three Debates: those of Wine and Water, of the Soul and Body, and of the Knight and Cleric known as *Elena y María*. To the first of these is prefixed an irrelevant but charming lover's vision of his lady, which is one of the earliest lyrics in the Spanish tongue, and not one of the least in estimation: the author or the copyist was named Lope de Moro. The Life of St. Mary the Egyptian (*Santa María Egipciaca*) is in irregular nine-syllable lines, and is more entertaining during her sinful than during her saintly days. The *Libre dels tres Reys d'Orient* has nothing to do with the Magi, but begins to recount the tale of the Penitent Thief, which is swiftly truncated.

The commencement of vernacular prose in the Peninsula was later than the creation of the more important epics, *cossantes*, and even certain of the clerical poems. It constituted itself the heir of Hispano-Latin literature, from which it adopted its first

forms of expression—chronicles, science, history, the apologue,—leaving others, such as theological dissertation, still in the learned tongue until the Renaissance. It took over the task of europeanizing the culture preserved from Classical antiquity by Islam, and also the same technique of translation. Above all, it inherited the courtly patronage and imperial purpose so evident in its Latin forerunners. As in the development of the courtly lyric, as in the history of University education, so in prose it was Ferdinand III (see p. 46) who projected the first important works in the vernacular speech: as in the lyric, it was his son Alfonso X the Wise who carried on this task, with which his father had from the beginning closely associated him, who gave it amplitude and, doubtless, quite novel direction. Works planned by Alfonso the Wise were sometimes executed in his reign, sometimes completed in the days of his successors, and it was probably only in his great-grandson's time that his plans were fully realized. The place of the monarchs in this development of prose style may have varied considerably. It is impossible to separate Ferdinand's influence from that of his son, who was from the beginning the chief patron of the rising literature; to Alfonso we ascribe the architecture of the more important works, in the sense that as general editor he determined the order of passages for translation by his subordinate editors, and he is known to have revised the style of works completed in his reign, so that there are sometimes important variations recorded between the rough copies and the official codices inscribed on parchment for the royal library. A miniature in his song-book shows him in the centre, flanked on the one side by clerks who consult manuscripts and on the other by musicians who tune their instruments; and in his prose works there must have been an even greater delegation of function to his assistants, several of whose names are known, though their literary personalities are lost. Under Sancho IV the standard enterprises have less polish, and it is possible the plans may have been extended to include translation not only from Latin and Arabic, but also from French and Provençal. The first original novel appears under Ferdinand IV, and in the latter half of Alfonso XI's reign (1312–1350) there is leisure to embark on enterprises additional to those we may be inclined to associate with the name of his great-grandfather. This long and glorious reign is also noteworthy for three advances in literary development: the curial tendency changed into an aristocratic patronage of literature, since not only the royal court but also the establishment of Prince Juan Manuel favoured literary enterprises conducive to the common good; style gained

its first personal attributes in Juan Manuel and in Pedro of Barcellos; and Portuguese prose detached itself from the main current of Castilian-Leonese. The dialects of the centre crystallized into one literary idiom, from which only Aragonese, for political reasons, stood somewhat apart, and this idiom, first consciously exemplified in Juan Manuel and Juan Ruiz, has remained uniform and constant as the literary Spanish tongue to our day, which is bounded by the Portuguese and Catalan areas on either side.

It is recorded that Ferdinand III's restoration of the University of Salamanca was due to the perception that the gains of chivalry could only be retained by culture. By this he understood, primarily, the legal and administrative union of his dominions, and in giving to the conquered city of Córdoba the Fuero Juzgo as its special charter (which was soon translated into Spanish), he initiated that centralization of social polity which was so powerfully advanced by Alfonso X's code of the *Siete Partidas* (1256–1263). The latter only became a source for Spanish law by a resolution of Cortes passed under Alfonso XI. It is not so much a code of laws as of social counsels: how must a king preserve his gravity? what are the duties of chivalry? how much liberty should be conceded to centres of instruction? what is the most desirable rule of succession? how should public entertainments be regulated so as to afford the maximum of recreation and the minimum of scandal? The *Siete Partidas* has a breadth and humanity unusual in a legal document, and is one of the primary sources for the social history of the times. History had, under Ferdinand III, continued to employ the Latin speech: under Alfonso X it became vernacular, and subserved his two imperial claims—his 'empire' of the Spains and his majority election, never ratified, as Holy Roman Emperor. The latter interrupts the composition of his Spanish history, and is expressed in the *Grande et general Estoria*, or world-history, which combines a core of Biblical history from Adam to Christ, with Roman history from Saturn's golden age, through Æneas to the Cæsars. As it is unfinished, we cannot judge how it was to have been linked with the author's futile claim to world-empire. As successor of the Leonese 'emperors', Alfonso traced his right from Tubal and Hercules, through the Cæsars and their lieutenants the Visigoths, followed by their heritors the Leonese kings, in the *Estoria de Espanna*, better known as the *Primera Crónica General* or *First General Chronicle*. It is not certain whether the whole plan be Alfonso's: it is known that only half was revised by him, the remainder, more crude in finish but richer in matter,

being reserved for the days of Sancho IV (completed 1289). This second part contains the celebrated ' prosifications ' of the epics of national history, a process that had already been indicated by previous historians; and if the prosifications tended to supersede and so destroy the original *cantares*, they are the principal source of our knowledge of Fernán González, Bernardo del Carpio, the Infantes of Lara, the siege of Zamora, and many minor poetic narratives. The amours and tragedy of Rodrigo, the last of the Goths, are better represented in the *Second General Chronicle* (1344), which also relates the youthful feats (*mocedades*) of the Cid, and has additional information concerning all the *cantares*. The historiography of the Middle Ages was, apart from particular chronicles, wholly concerned with the refundition of the *General Chronicles*, the most influential being the so-called *Third Chronicle*, on account of its issue in print by Ocampo (1541) and its extensive use as a source book for Spanish history among the ballad-mongers and dramatists of the Renaissance. In the Chronicles the prose is naïve and impersonal, efficient in narrative, and often, under the influence of the epics, striking, unskilful in evolution and in the expression of the abstract. Alfonso's scientific works include the important Alfonsine tables of astronomical bearings, corrected for the latitude of Toledo, and a curious book on the virtues of precious stones: he caused to be translated from Arabic the book of *Kalila and Dimna* (1251) and his brother patronized the version of the Book of Sindibâd, issued under the style of the *Book of the Deceits and Tricks of Women* (*Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres*) (1253), thus incorporating into Spanish literature two of the most important collections of oriental apologues.

Under his successor, Sancho IV, the process of ' prosification ' was extended to a foreign epic, the *Chanson de la Croisade*, which was amalgamated with William of Tyre's account of the Crusades in the *Grand Conquista de Ultramar*. The King's hand appears in the *Book of Counsels for his Son*, a collection of apophthegms similar to several others of about this date. Translation from modern foreign languages was exemplified in the Spanish version of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, and the leading Arthurian novels were acquired for the Peninsular literatures probably under his reign or that of his successor: they were the tales of Tristan, Lancelot, and the vast Quest of the Holy Grail. Though translations, and perhaps not always of great literary merit, these novels, with the sentimental story of Floire and Blanchefleur, profoundly influenced Spanish prose, giving it a flexibility of narration, a capacity for architecture, a variability and in the end

a cadence, which could not have been reached through the blunt virility of the epics nor the lumbering straightforwardness of the chronicles and apologues. Under their general inspiration an unknown writer (perhaps the archdeacon Fernán Martínez, mentioned in the preface) wrote, before 1305, the first independent Spanish novel, the *History of the Knight of God whose name was Cifar* (termed briefly in Spanish the *Caballero Cifar*), which adapts in the first book the adventures of St. Eustace to the author's hero, in the second retails an already translated book of apophthegms, and in the third constructs a chivalrous romance round Cifar's son Roboan and his adventures in the realm of Tigrida. To the chivalrous hero, the writer has had the wit to attach a shadowy forerunner of the earthy Sancho Panza, thus beginning that wedding of ideal to real which is Spain's supreme contribution to the most popular of modern literary moulds. More uniform, and equally successful in modern times, was the book of Amadis of Gaul (*Amadís de Gaula*), which rivalled the Arthurian stories in popularity during the whole Middle Ages, and felicitously inspired the imagination of Cervantes. It is known to have circulated in Central Spain from 1350 and to have been in three books, probably the same in outline as the first three of the extant romance. It cannot have been undistinguished in style, as it is far from undistinguished in plan: but it suffered a rejuvenation during the Renaissance which has led to the destruction of the original. Much ink has been spilt in the controversy as to its author and native language. To the present writer it seems probable that the author was a Galician troubadour, João de Lobeira, attached to a Prince Afonso of Portugal; that the work was executed during the latter's expatriation in Castile (from 1304 to his death in 1312); and that the language employed was probably conventional, approximating as closely to the Spanish literary idiom of the Court and of Juan Manuel's sub-Court as the author's birth permitted. Strong claims have been put forward on Portugal's behalf. The question of dialect is not of prime importance before the differentiation of the literary idioms, which was carried out at a time later than this date: but the Portuguese claim has to meet the objections that the work is recorded in the centre of the Peninsula a century before it is in the west, and that its mention in the west (about 1450) follows too closely the date of Juan de Baena's *Cancionero* (1445), where it is extensively cited by Castilian poetasters.

Under Alfonso XI's reign the Alfonsine prose reaches its conclusion. The *General Chronicle* was recast, and an anonymous official, who may have been Fernán Sánchez de Tovar,

added chronicles of the kings who succeeded St. Ferdinand. Though increasing the extent of historical literature, this work does not mark an advance of style. Among its sources is a *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (*c.* 1344), written in tiresome octosyllabic quatrains, with considerable national patriotism. It is marked by Galicianisms and is connected in subject with a lost Portuguese poem on the Salado Battle, also in octosyllabic quatrains. This latter bears the name of Afonso Giráldez: in the former we read

> Yo Rodrigo Yáñez la noté
> en lenguaje castellano,—

verses of sense too cryptic to tell us whether we are dealing with a translator, or a Galician's infirmities in handling Castilian. The Trojan Chronicle, rendered Spanish in this reign, has the oddity of being translated later into Galician prose, which has almost no other literary document.

But the principal interest of this reign is the passage of literary patronage to certain great nobles, and the emergence of personal style. This was, in Spain, the work of Don Juan Manuel, who was disposed to consider himself the literary, and even the political, heir of his uncle the Wise Alfonso. Much of his work is in common form: he abbreviated the *General Chronicle* and composed works after the manner of the *Partidas* on social divisions and the duties of chivalry. He described the aristocratic sport of hawking, and detailed his own great pedigree. The 'Fifty pleasant tales of Patronio' (*Libro del Conde Lucanor o de Patronio*, *c.* 1335) is but one more book of apologues and aphorisms, the former set into a wooden frame of Lucanor's request for instruction on points of conduct and the moral verbosely deduced by Patronio from a fable. But the tales are free and varied; though the sources are diverse, they flow from the author as of his own invention and experience, stamped with his aristocratic reserve and covering the fluctuating embarrassments of baronial politics. Above all, they are couched in a grave, aristocratic Castilian, influenced by Leonese, parsimonious of effort and full-voiced in word, practical, somewhat dry, realistic, which has conserved its appeal and intelligibility to our day. From the *Book of Patronio* Spanish literature ceases to be an amalgam inspired by 'empire', and becomes homogeneous and national. National existence was conferred on Portuguese prose by the third and fourth *Books of Lineages* (*c.* 1350), which are connected with the name of Pedro, Count of Barcellos, the reputed collector of the *Cancioneiros*. The genealogies there related are those of

all Spain, and the materials had already served Alfonso the Wise or his successors. Amid the formless name-lists, the author intercalates a few of the myths wherewith the vanity of nobles crowned their ancestry in a prose utterly unaffected in its simple charm.

III. Catalan National Literature

The literature of the north-easterly portion of the Peninsula commences as part of a foreign culture, and after a national efflorescence independent of, but similar to, that of Castile and Portugal during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, merges itself with the Renaissance into the general culture of Spain, reappearing in our own days not as a national literature but as the most important of the regional cultures. It was the Battle of Muret (1213) that cut off Barcelona from its aspirations after hegemony in southern France, and the campaigns against the Balearic Islands and Valencia (1229–1238) brought the kingdom of Aragon wholly within the Peninsular line of evolution. The first national writer, who was also the greatest of this literature, was born in one of the conquered territories, in Mallorca. Ramón Lull's (1232–1315: modern Catalan prefers the spelling Llull) was a mind of infinite variety: poet, novelist, missionary, educator, reformer, logician, scientist, traveller, martyr. His life is known from a biography, largely dictated by himself, and issued four years before his death in 1315, but his intimate aspirations find better expression in the grave, melancholy, wooden but sincere *Cant de Ramón* and *Desconort.* These show his mainspring to have been a passion for evangelization, and in particular for the conversion of the Muslim world. To this end he demanded the creation of missionary colleges, with oriental languages as their special study. As fully as any other mediaeval theologian, he believed that conversion arose from intellectual conviction, which he proposed to achieve through an 'Art' or system of dialectic applicable to all subjects. This 'Art' is expounded and applied in innumerable works, principally extant in Latin: its leading feature is that, in opposition to the Averroists who insisted on the validity of sense-perception, the Catalan author desired to invest certain abstract categories with absolute validity, the sum of these categories being the definition of God. He achieved no system of philosophy, still less a serviceable dialectic, and must be understood to be an idealistic protestant against the materialism of Siger of Brabant. Not a logician, Lull is a poet. His works in metre are often unpoetical owing to his notion of using verse as a jingle to assist in the memorizing

of his ' Art ', and we must seek his high watermark in the prose of the *Book of the Lover and the Beloved* or the *Book of Ave Maria* (*c.* 1284). The same poetical qualities characterize, though less intensely, his novels of *Blanquerna* (*c.* 1284) and *Felix de les Meravelles* (*c.* 1286). In these dissolving views of the society of his time, both ecclesiastical and civil, Lull contrives to voice his idealistic protest and to make many striking suggestions for reform, which are not the less stimulating for being altruistic and impracticable. Lull has exercised a profound influence on the literature of Central Spain from Don Juan Manuel to our day.

The central pillar of Catalan nationalism is the sequence of four magnificent chronicles written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. That of James I (*Libre dels Feyts del rey en Jacme*), extant in Catalan and Latin, reflects the hardy good sense of that monarch in language that must be largely his own. His successor, Peter III, is the subject chosen by Desclot, in a chronicle as impartial and sober as its subject is fantastically chivalrous : in Desclot the anonymous author of the fifteenth century novel of *Curial i Guelfa* found inspiration. Ramón Muntaner, the Catalan Froissart, is also inspired by the great reign of this Peter, but his most brilliant and valuable chapters treat of Roger Blum's expedition to the Orient which caused the establishment of the Catalan quasi-republic of the Morea : personal, picturesque and intensely patriotic, Muntaner's book of adventure supplied much matter to Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanch* (published in 1490). The fourth chronicle is that of the shrewd, cynical, accomplished and national monarch Peter IV, the Ceremonious, or ' he of the Dagger '. Again we are frequently in face of the ruler himself, despite the known assistance yielded in its composition by writers like Descoll : the chronicle was inserted in his general compilation by the archivist Miquel Carbonell at the end of the fifteenth century, and is the best part of his compilation. In that century general history superseded in interest the record of contemporary affairs, and there is a notable failing in historiography. At length antiquarianism usurped the whole field.

The reign of Peter the Ceremonious marks the high watermark of Catalan nationalism. His letters and those of John I and Martin show the intimate association of the Court with every phase of national sentiment, and their astonishing absorption in culture. They governed their realm through parliament, and both the first- and last-named had high repute as orators ; specimens of their eloquence still remain. Peter completed the codification of maritime law in the celebrated *Libre del Consulat del Mar*, which has profoundly influenced the legislation of all

Europe. Above all, from our point of view, they served letters by standardizing the official idiom. This is best to be studied in the works of the secretary Bernat Metge, author of innumerable official dispatches, of the *Somni* (1398) which shows him to be the firstfruit of the Renaissance in Catalonia, and translator of Petrarca's *Griselda*. Dante's *Divina Commedia* was known through an accurate rendering by Andreu Febrer, and there is an equally felicitous anonymous rendering of the *Decamerone*. Metge is thus one of a circle of humanists inspired by Italy, and in respect of syntax and diction is of the highest authority in the definition of standard Catalan; his matter is, however, of less importance than that of two of his contemporaries. Francesc Eiximenis (d. 1409) is a practical moralist, whose life-work one may sum up in the words of a title chosen for one of his books: his writings are the 'compendious doctrine of just living and occupying with zeal and loyalty all public offices'. Such is his *Life of Christ*, such his more famous *Christian* (*Lo Crestià*, 1381–1386), commenced at the instance of Peter the Ceremonious. Always sane and balanced, Eiximenis shows real genius for preaching in his delightful fables, interspersed throughout the book, told with charm and with a freshness that never disappoints the reader either in respect of felicitous phrasing or unforeseen turns in the narrative. Eiximenis was a preacher on paper: St. Vincent Ferrer swayed the multitudes in market-place and cathedral, though his surviving sermons scarcely account for his rhetorical appeal. We have, therefore, to set beside Eiximenis, not a brother churchman, but one of the most amusing renegades and rascals of the age, Fra Anselm Turmeda, known in Tunis as the holy sheikh Abdullah. A natural polygamist, Turmeda could not remain a celibate priest in his own land, but from his exile in a Tunisian harem had the effrontery to send his *Book of Sound Cautions* (*Libre dels bons Amonestaments*) to more honest Christians than himself. His greatest work is the *Book of the Ass* (*Disputa del Ase*), of which the Catalan text is lost and our authority is an early French translation: in this he adopted an ancient fiction, perhaps of Indian origin, whereby in public dispute man demonstrates his superiority to the animal creation. But in Turmeda this demonstration is accomplished with such scandalous difficulty, the contrary arguments of the Monkey are so damaging, and salvation by aid of the Ass so humiliating, that the work becomes the best Spanish piece of goliardic satire.

It was only in the fifteenth century that a school of poetry, specifically Catalan in aims and manner, arose. Lull and Muntaner wrote their poems in a conventional dialect of Limousin,

and the same unreality pervades the poems of Bernat Metge and of Torroella, the latter the author of an interesting Arthurian *Paula* (*c.* 1381). Their *codolades* and *noves rimades* are pedestrian metres destined to serve later satirists. With Pere and Jacme March, Catalan poetry acquires consistency if not masterpieces, and shifts its centre of gravity to Valencia, in which city it reaches its height in Jordi de Sant Jordi, 'crowned' poetically by a great Castilian contemporary as the greatest lyrist of his day—a mighty but not incomprehensible hyperbole,—and Ausiàs March (1393–1459), the most Petrarchian of those poets who owe no direct debt to Petrarch. Ausiàs March is a sophist of love, who takes his point of departure from the more abstruse Provençal singers. Neither his Songs of Love nor Songs of Death say anything specific in description of the lady he is alleged to hymn; in view, indeed, of his practices, much doubt may be felt as to the existence of any one pole-star of his life. His 'lily among thistles', who is 'full of sense', nowhere overwhelms our poet, who through lack of abandon, perhaps, has missed his place among the great lyrists of Europe; his style is concentrated, subtle, casuistical, and in its best moments given over to a passion of noble thoughts, and in his Prayer to God ('Puis que sens tu algú a tu no basta'), though profoundly mediaeval, is bound by no formula, but in the aristocratic dignity of his soul March can stand up and enter into not unworthy colloquy with his Maker.

The argumentative eminence of March, and even the chivalry of Jordi de Sant Jordi, did not prove to be the level at which Valencian literature was to rest. This was determined by Jaume Roig's light, comprehensive and entertaining satires on society in his *Book of Women* (*Spill o Libre de les Dones*). Like all the most entertaining items in the controversy as to the nature of womankind which agitated Spain in the later fifteenth century, Roig's verdict is unfavourable to the sex. Satire, however clever, sacrificed the intellectual and emotional eminence towards which the Marchs had aspired, while Roig's short stabbing verses banished from prosody the grave alexandrine octaves of serious poetry. Satires perpetuated themselves in Valencia, but it is perhaps not surprising that the next Catalan name in serious poetry, Juan Boscán Almogáver, should have elected to employ the idiom of Castile, thus integrating the literary expression of his country with the main current of Peninsular culture.

IV. The Early Renaissance

The work of Juan Manuel (1282–1348) shows Spanish literature emerging from the impersonality of its curial epoch into the

individuality which is the characteristic quality of his humbler contemporary, Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita (? 1283–? 1350). The biography of this author is known only from his work, and is so wrapped in humour that one cannot know where literal truth begins. He suffered an imprisonment, and concluded his work in bonds; but it appears that he was also a person of sufficient gravity to deserve the confidence of an archbishop, and to be entrusted with a message to clerics guilty of the ecclesiastical vice of *barraganía* or legalized concubinage. Whatever the real character of this author, he has been pleased to describe himself in goliardic terms, and to attribute to his own experience lengthy and picaresque adventures translated from well-known authors. But this characterization has been so skilfully, vividly and consistently carried out, including even the physical details appropriate to a figure of sensual appetite, that it becomes the sole connecting link of the disparate matter contained in the *Book of Virtuous Love* (*Libro de Buen Amor*), which is in reality not one poem, but a selection from the author's works, completed in 1330 and amplified in 1343. The author explains that his poems lead towards virtuous love if the reader steadily avoids the examples of foolish human love which they exhibit, but they may also serve to guide those perverse ones who prefer folly! Commencing with an exordium which mingles in one the invocations of priests and jugglers and the general proposition that 'man in all his trials ought always to seek entertainment', Juan Ruiz plunges into a collection of versified fables, told with incredible verve and comic spirit. The principal item in his poem is a narrative version of the twelfth-century Latin drama *De Vetula*, which the Archpriest ascribes to his own life history; the Trotaconventos of this tale is the grandmother of the go-betweens of Spanish realistic novels and dramas, and is not inferior in vitality to the most scandalous of her offspring. The battle of Lent and Carnival is an admirable parody of epic pomps, and the five songs of hill-women (*Serranas*) in their broad farce and unsparing realism contrast forcibly with the pastoral suavity of the Galician *pastorelas*. In these songs, and in his devout lyrics, the Archpriest is a lyrical poet,—the first Castilian to leave behind a considerable body of songs,—who enjoys an independence of Provençal traditions such as seems to indicate behind him a considerable lost tradition of Spanish lyrism. His most quotable moments are satirical songs, such as those on the power of money or the pleasing qualities of little women, the indignation of the polygamous chapter of Talavera or the Rabelaisian account of his own appearance, expressed in his dominant metre, the alexandrine quatrain. Ruiz alone has

the exuberance and fancy required to fill the verbose 'fourfold way', which becomes in his hands pliable, bubbling with broad humour, and even, as it would seem, the one literary mould ample enough to give free course to his roistering spirit of fun.

Nothing is further from Ruiz's verbosity than Rabbi Sem Tob's parsimony of words and ideas. His *Proverbs* (*c.* 1350) are in quatrains of heptasyllables, where Ruiz uses lines of fourteen; in the 'fourfold way' the phrase coincides with the verse, but in Sem Tob, who borrows his manner from the antithesis of Hebrew wisdom, each verse contains two contrasted phrases. Tense and concentrated in manner, his matter is invariably grave and serious; he advocates a practical and estimable morality, uninspired by any ideal, unblemished by any goliardic excess. Grave and sufficient for his purpose, the Jew is a poet of consideration and weight, whose thought becomes striking, despite its nearness to the commonplace, by the exotic, apposite illustrations which he draws from Talmudic lore. Pure poetry is also absent from the spirit of Pedro López de Ayala, Chancellor of Castile (1332–1407), who heads the great line of historians in this era. His poetical work is given a fictitious appearance of unity in the *Rimado de Palacio*, but its composition extends over a large space of the author's life, probably from his imprisonment in Gascony (the 'Inglaterra' of one manuscript) after the Battle of Nájera (1367), certainly from his stay in Portugal (1385), up to the agitations connected with the Great Schism in the early years of the following century. The title refers to a brilliantly incisive satire on court life, the evils of favouritism, the insolence of office, the rapacious exactions of the tax-farmers, the royal passion for war, the sanguinary outrages which Peter the Cruel took for justice. But Ayala is equally stringent in his castigation of ecclesiastics, and the introductory portion of his work is occupied by a series of pieces which measure his own conduct against the rules of life, and find him guilty of breaking all the Ten Commandments, neglecting all the works of mercy, stained with all the deadly sins, etc. Such a character does not deserve to live. We must regard his self-denunciations as too systematic to be sincere, and suspect the same excess of bitterness in his denunciations of others. He took up his pen only when it was dipped in gall; in his happier moments he was himself one of those courtiers, councillors and patrons of Jewish tax-gatherers whom he satirized from prison or retirement. We may deny to him, as to Juvenal, the title of poet, but verse gives points of iron to his scourge, he is an undoubted master of expression, and his knowledge of society is unrivalled for authority. He is, in respect

of his versification, the last great master of the 'fourfold way'.

Ayala is also one of the oldest contributors to an important trifle, Juan Alfonso de Baena's *Cancionero* (1445). This records the lyrical diversions of John II's Court, endless in vituperation and rhyming tricks ; in these the compiler is especially interested, to the exclusion of all the really noteworthy lyrical effort of his time, but he documents two important evolutions of the Spanish lyric,—the Castilianization of the Galician muse, and the beginnings of Italian hegemony. The diversions of Alfonso the Magnanimous' Aragonese Court at Naples, collected by Stúñiga, are less important as historical sources and not more worthy as poetry. The minor poetry of the second half of the fifteenth century is recorded in a number of similar collections, such as those of Herberay, Castillo, etc., of which we need only signalize the *Cancioneiro de Rêzende* (1516) because it is the first sign in a hundred and fifty years of poetical activity in Portugal. Rèzende's collection is as frivolous as any, and is heavily castilianized ; but it contains one poem by its compiler which Portuguese literature will not suffer to be forgotten.

The greater poets of the fifteenth century are Santillana, Mena, and the two Manriques. Iñigo López de Mendoza, first Marquis of Santillana (1398–1458), is the most gifted of a literary aristocracy, which included in one family his grandsire, López de Ayala, Pérez de Guzmán, the Manriques, and, in the full Renaissance, Garci-Laso de la Vega. A great lover of books, his admirable *Proemio* or letter to the Constable Peter (or Pedro) of Portugal, himself a poet, is the first monument of Castilian literary criticism. He was profoundly impressed by the genius of the great Italian poets of the *trecento*, sought to naturalize among his countrymen their allegorical and quasi-philosophical methods, and himself introduced their metres by his forty sonnets made in the Italian style, whose halting versification rendered them of no influence in the history of Spanish prosody. His sympathies embraced the Catalan courtly poet Jordi de Sant Jordi, and the fiery preacher St. Vincent Ferrer, thus anticipating in literature the political and cultural union of the Golden Age ; but he was equally in touch with Portugal in the west. Serious as are his claims to historical recognition, his fame now rests almost wholly on his unequalled pastorals (*serranillas*), with their easy movement and musical expression, and on his appreciation of popular wisdom as recorded in proverbs. Santillana was, further, the patron of the most admired poet of the age, Juan de Mena, whom Nebrija described as the Vergil or pre-eminent bard of Spain.

Mena, who died young (in 1456), is linked to the metrical novelty termed the *verso de arte mayor*, which banished the clumsy fourfold alexandrine from literature (it has been restored by the Modernist movement) in favour of another, not less weighty, phalanx of syllables. Serious weight is the characteristic merit of his *Labyrinth of Fortune* or *Las Trescientas*, an intricate allegory of Fame unrelieved by Dante's genius or the least spark of Chaucer's wit. The language of Mena is 'aureate', stiffly Latinized in vocabulary and in syntax, a thoroughgoing but uninfluential gongorism, from which Nebrija drew illustrations of all the Classical tropes. In prose Mena shares with Enrique de Villena the distinction of being the most unreadable of Spanish writers. Of the two Manriques, Gómez (*c.* 1415–*c.* 1490) is the more equable and talented, and is interesting for his experiments in simple dramatic forms; but Jorge (*c.* 1440–1478) is immortal by reason of his lines on his father's death (*Coplas de Jorge Manrique*: *c.* 1476). Their heavy, clangorous movement has escaped Longfellow in his otherwise admirable translation. There boom, like a tocsin, grave re-echoing commonplaces in verses regularly punctuated by sobbing half-lines. Death is common and the consolations open to us are commonplace, nor have they ever, anywhere, received such inevitable expression as in Jorge Manrique's muffled lines. It is, perhaps, the only Peninsular work in the Middle Ages which may be adjudged to be perfect.

The prose of the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries is no longer curial, but is profoundly aristocratic, being composed by and for those whose wealth, leisure and culture enabled them to acquire and peruse manuscripts. To the nobles had descended the enthusiasm for learning and elegance which had marked the 'emperors' down to Alfonso the Wise, and in the later Middle Ages important libraries were gathered by López de Ayala, Santillana, Fernández de Heredia, Santa María, etc., as well as by such royal figures as Duarte of Portugal, Peter IV and John I of Aragon, the Prince of Viana, Isabel the Catholic. For these illustrious patrons translations from the classics were executed, such as Livy's *Decades* or Homer; and these models begin to mould style, now that the secret of personal expression had been discovered. Among the most zealous of these humanists before Humanism was Pedro López de Ayala, whose Livian studies shaped his chronicles of Peter I, Henry II, John I, and Henry III of Castile. From Livy he learned to make annals politically instructive by reviewing the course of action in set speeches attributed to named or anonymous characters; and

as in the latter reigns he had himself intervened in all the more important councils of state, as the policies urged were frequently his own or policies which he had rebutted, we must assign to them a high degree of historical probability. From Livy he learned the trick of drawing summary thumb-nail sketches of his personages, and these rapid characterizations were made without historical context by Pérez de Guzmán and Hernando del Pulgar in succeeding reigns, so as to give us an invaluable literary portrait gallery of the worthies who played their part during the Trastamara dynasty. From Livy, and perhaps yet more from the Arthurian novels, Ayala learned to build up his incidents so that the narrative should itself point its moral, as in the Tacitean character of Peter the Cruel, inexorably condemned by the naked sequence of events recorded. Resolute in style and weighty in political content as he is, Ayala fails in prose as in verse to win the favour of the Muse : he has intellectual eminence devoid of the æsthetic charm which marks the Portuguese chronicler of the same events Fernão López (*c.* 1380–*c.* 1460) whom Southey considered to be the greatest chronicler of all times and ages. López has no Peninsular rival but Muntaner for patriotic sincerity, vivid impressionism and picturesque imagination ; and he is superior even to Muntaner in his intense popular sympathies. It fell to him to narrate the epic of Portuguese independence in his chronicles of Peter I of Portugal, Ferdinand the Handsome and the first two parts of John I's reign, and in these works the real hero is the Portuguese people, the commoners or *gente miuda*, whose activities he records with almost Macaulayan detail and with a sympathy and warmth beyond the reach of a Macaulay. He lacks political insight and has no sufficient understanding either of the theory or practice of war, which Ayala had studied in Vegetius ; but he is inferior to the Castilian Chancellor neither in industry, nor in good faith, nor in copious variety of information. An anonymous life of the victor of Aljubarrota, Nuno Alvares Pereira, forms a considerable part of López' narrative, which some have supposed to be an early work from his pen. Such an attribution cannot stand in face of López' assertion to the contrary, and the author was most probably the Constable's secretary, Gil Ayras.

Ayala's life of the third Henry was cut short midway, and we have to supplement his narrative as best we may from the *Vitorial* (*c.* 1431) of Gutierre Díez de Games (*c.* 1379–1450). The *Vitorial*, however, is not primarily a work of history : it is the characterization of the ' happy warrior ', found by Díez de Games not in the regions of imagination, but in the person of D. Pedro Niño, Count

of Buelna, whose naïve triumphs in love and war are related by his lieutenant with a schoolboy's romantic ardour. The same reign gave occasion for Clavijo's celebrated journey to Samarkand, in which the envoys of the King of Spain took precedence over those of the Chinese emperor in the presence and tent of Tamburlane (1405). Clavijo's account is sober and precise, strictly discriminating things seen from things heard. This distinction is partially lost in Pedro Tafur's *Andanzas* (1435), a tourist's trip through the Near East and Germany, which compensates in brilliance for its diminished evidential value. The reign of John II (see p. 51), in which Tafur's trip took place, cultivated the elegances rather than the realities of life, and its chroniclers take on a chivalresque tone, which is profoundly indebted to the Arthurian novels and *Amadís*, incessantly quoted by the poets of the Court. Such is the manner of the anonymous writer of part of the Chronicle of John II, which was begun by Álvar García de Santa María and perhaps completed by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán ; it is also the manner, in an exaggerated degree, of the author of the *Libro del Paso honroso*, or defence of Orbigo Bridge by Suero de Quiñones against all comers during the whole of the year July, 1439, to August, 1440. A private chronicle of the great favourite Don Álvaro de Luna presents a favourable opinion of this bitterly hated minister, whom John II sacrificed to his enemies : in the succeeding reign the biography of Lucas de Iranzo is important less as political than as social history, in its picture of the profusion and ostentation practised by the great Spanish nobles. The complicated official history of the reign must be sought in the pages of Alfonso de Palencia and Enríquez del Castillo, who are continued into the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel by Hernando del Pulgar and Andrés Bernáldez. For these years Diego de Valera's letters and *Memorial de Diversas Hazañas* are of great import ; the same compliment cannot unfortunately be paid either to his, or to any other, work of general Spanish history, though several were issued in the fifteenth century.

After López had ceased to write, owing to age, the best work in Portuguese historiography is that which follows the maritime urge given to the country's destinies by Prince Henry the Navigator. All Gómez Eanes de Zurara's (*c.* 1410–1474) laborious and scrupulous scholarship was directed on transmarine enterprises—the capture of Ceuta in 1415 by the sons of John I, its defence by the two Menezes, and above all the invaluable *Conquest and Discovery of Guinea* (*Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné*), which narrates the African explorations down to the discovery of Sierra Leone in 1446. A private biography of great

interest is Fr. João Alvarez' account of the imprisonment and sufferings of the 'sainted prince' Ferdinand, held a prisoner in Morocco during seven years (1437–1443). His words move us to compassion as only those of an eye-witness have power to do. There is a steep descent in manner after Zurara demitted office as chief archivist, and to his successor Ruy de Pina we owe the destruction of Fernão López' narrative of the first seven kings of Portugal: Pina, Rèzende and Damião de Gões carry the line of royal chronicles down to the end of the mediaeval period.

History is the principal achievement of both Spain and Portugal during the fifteenth century, and the other classes of literature are rather sparsely cultivated. Historical romance has a noteworthy representative in Pedro del Corral's *Crónica Sarracina* (*c.* 1440) which gave to the legend of Roderic and the destruction of the Visigothic empire a suitably ornate and exotic expression, using material from the extended version of the fable offered by the second redaction of the *General Chronicle*. Corral was himself refunded at the end of the next century by the rogue named Miguel de Luna of Granada. Otherwise both in Spain and Portugal the continued circulation of already existing novels, notably of *Amadís*, the three Arthurian pieces and *Flores y Blancaflor*, is of greater significance than the new creations. The most valuable of these are sentimental novels of slight activity, in which the analysis of psychology is carried much further than even the chivalrous novels encouraged. Round the lives of the troubadours Macías and Rodríguez del Padrón a sentimental history evolved, and the latter's *Free Slave of Love* (*Siervo libre de Amor*) gave rise to Diego de San Pedro's *Love's Prison* (*Cárcel de Amor*: 1492). The former has an autobiographic interest that is not readily perceptible in the latter; in both, action is sacrificed too often to pathological curiosity. Among the humbler branches of romance we find the books of anecdotes and apologues for the use of friars. The largest and most independent of these is the Leonese Clemente Sánchez de Vercial's *Libro de Enxenplos por a b c* (between 1400 and 1421), with some three hundred tales briefly outlined and provided with morals to match: from English authors Spain obtained Odo of Cherinton's stories which circulated under the title *Libro de los Cuentos* (miswritten *gatos*), the *Espejo de los Legos* of Hoveden, and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, translated into Castilian from Robert Payne's Portuguese version. Gower, rendered into careless prose and divided into more than three hundred chapters, is but one more book of friars' apologues.

The odd controversy suggested by Boccaccio as to the virtues and vices of the gentler sex raged in Castile as in Catalonia, pro-

voking scurrilous defamation followed by sanctimonious restitutions. No less a person than Don Álvaro de Luna intervened in the conflict, a resolute champion of female virtue ; but the challengers carried off the credit of the fray, in Catalonia with Roig's verses, and in Castile with Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Archpriest of Talavera's *Libro* (without other specification), which has been given the convenient title of *Corbacho*. The suggestion for his penetrating and unscrupulous record of feminine vanities and frailties appears to have come to the author from his tours in Catalonia. He has carried out his task without vindictiveness, but with a boisterous, picaresque humour which justifies the epigram that he was as good an archpriest in prose as his colleague of Hita in verse. It is odd to reflect that this spirited archpriest was also the author of a singularly dull and spiritless *Watchtower of the Chronicles* (*Atalaya de las Crónicas*), made up of snippets from the General Histories of Spain.

Didactic work is best represented by Portugal, which wholly lacks original novels in this period. John I (1365–1433), founder of the Aviz dynasty, discussed hunting as a fine art, and passed on to two of his sons his literary tastes. The elder, Duarte (1391–1438), amassed a fine library in his palace at Lisbon, and was perhaps the best read monarch of his time. He dedicated the cream of his studies to his wife in the book entitled the *Loyal Counsellor* (*Leal Conselheiro* : *c.* 1430), valuable not merely for its encyclópædic information, but yet more for the simplicity and sincerity of the king's mind. Virtue was pursued with the same zeal by his brother, Pedro, the illustrious but ill-fated Duke of Coimbra, author of a Senecan treatise on Beneficence. The duke had enjoyed the advantage of a grand tour in Europe, which became legendary in the Peninsula and in the mid-sixteenth century attached to his name a spurious work of travel that was patched up from Mandeville, Tafur and less reputable sources. In Castile, didactic prose is best represented by the Jew Alfonso de la Torre's survey of the liberal arts in his *Visión delectable* (*c.* 1440), noteworthy for the part played in it by the speculations of Maimonides, and Juan de Lucena's Ciceronian *Libro de vita beata* (? 1463). Both works belong to the last years of the century, and indicate that full Renaissance Humanism is not far off.

Attention was drawn to the interest of the *Romancero* or corpus of Spanish ballads by Romantic critics who hoped to find in them the popular origins of epic poetry, in accordance with the arbitrarily created theory which supposed that the greater national narratives were centos of episodic narratives

stitched together. At the first competent inspection, that of Milá y Fontanals, it was seen that the process was, in Spain at least, inverse, that the ballads were generally posterior to the 'prosifications' in the chronicles, and still more to the *cantares de gesta*; but it was also seen that the ballads were the most universally appreciated of Spanish literary forms, and their extension out of Castile into Portugal, Catalonia, Spanish Jewry in Salonica or Oran, and South America, marks, as does no other cultural manifestation, the limits of the Iberian spirit. Milá's investigations were amplified in Menéndez y Pelayo's treatise on the ancient ballads, and await definitive statement under the hands of the greatest of Spanish scholars of all time, Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal. This modern renaissance of the ballad corresponds to an earlier renaissance in the first half of the sixteenth century, when a series of collections of traditional and of erudite *romances* appeared in Antwerp, Zaragoza, Valencia and elsewhere, together with the issue of numerous broadsides (*pliegos volantes*). These sources have been vastly augmented by modern research, from manuscripts and the texts of comedies, and from the oral tradition of peasants or Spanish-speaking commoners who have been in some way subtracted from the changes of literary fashion during the eighteenth century. Many of the most primitive and interesting pieces have lingered on only among the villagers of Asturias, or in the Azores, or on the lips of Salonica Jews.

This vast mass of material is represented in greatest numbers by the two volumes edited in 1849–51 by Agustín Durán, but first received critical treatment from Wolf and Hoffmann (1856), who applied to printed sources the criterion of age, which Menéndez y Pelayo's issue of their *Primavera y flor de romances* applies to oral and non-Castilian sources also (1899–1906). This critic has divided the material according to time and to matter. The oldest ballads (*viejos*) are fragmentary and episodic, anonymous and unconscious of effect, frequently in close contact with the *cantares de gesta*; less ancient are the minstrels' ballads (*juglarescos*), complete short narratives, anonymous but possessed of a simple technique ostentatiously used, and best represented by the Carolingian poems; to these fourteenth and fifteenth century types there succeeded in the sixteenth century erudite compositions (*eruditos*) by named authors, consisting of the prose of the chronicles carved into verses that imitate, generally without success, the manner of the ancient and minstrel types; artistic (*artísticos*) lyrico-narrative poems by the great poets of the seventeenth century and later sixteenth, Lope de

Vega, Góngora and others ; and plebeian pieces produced in the epoch of the full decadence of the type (*vulgares*). The histories of bandits and bullfighters are of as little interest as their ballads are numerous ; the artistic pieces belong to the criticism of their several makers ; the erudite *romances* are simply constructed, and generally, save those of the ' Cæsarian knight ', too uninspired to serve for more than stopgaps to complete series ; so that criticism is principally concerned with the first two types—the *viejos* and the *juglarescos*. The subjects of the ballad-mongers form certain great cycles : the history of Spain is mirrored in epic ballads (Rodrigo, Bernardo del Carpio, Fernán González, Infantes de Lara, Cid), in the sub-cycle of Peter the Cruel and in the frontier ballads (*fronterizos*) ; chivalresque ballads include a copious collection of Carolingian poems which includes various sub-cycles, and three ancient pieces concerning Arthurian heroes ; and to these classes we add miscellaneous romantic narratives, which include some of the most enchanting, and lyrical ballads, of late date, whose principal sub-group is occupied by conventional love-lyrics in Moorish disguise (*moriscos*).

The ballads of the frontier wars deal picturesquely with events trivial in themselves, and by their help and that of one of Peter the Cruel's cycle, we can carry back the date of composition of the earliest known pieces, despite their sixteenth-century form, as far as the year 1368. In that period the earliest known ballads meet the latest *cantares de gesta*, and, as the word *romance* (vernacular composition) is common to both, earlier prolongations of the ballad are necessarily the province of theory. The notion of the anteriority of ballad to epic, favoured by the Romantics, has been almost universally abandoned, but latest speculations suggest that the earliest epics may have had an extension similar to that of the longest ballads, while the octosyllable has been traced back to the tenth century. The dominant theory of our times considers the earliest ballads to have been the disintegrated fragments of epics ; fragments torn from their context on the ground of their superior interest and ' represented ' with no more than a line or two of preface and epilogue. Such an explanation tends to become mechanical, and on that account it is supplemented by a theory of authorship. The ballads are not ' popular ' poetry, as the populace is never a poet ; but they are ' traditional ' poetry, in the sense that, once composed and put into circulation, their text is refashioned in accordance with the inclinations, taste or barbarism of each reciter. Hence they survive in numerous variants, extending in one case to over a hundred and fifty, happy or infelicitous, and such

as when taken together establish, not one text, but a history of transformations. In one noteworthy case, the charm of the most romantic of all the ballads—that of the Count Arnaldos—is due to a mechanical alteration, by which a situation has lost its commonplace solution and remains hauntingly unfinished in the reader's imagination. Compression is a conspicuous feature of ballad technique. Description is almost wholly avoided by the ancient ballads, but increases as the centuries pass and in the end ousts more virile qualities. Action is reported sparingly, but speeches with dramatic frequency and length. Ballad influences ballad, and contamination is one of the methods of composition most in vogue; successful formulæ rapidly extend their range of application, and the need of assonance leads to certain special alterations in syntax. In the ballads of minstrelsy a single assonance dominates the entire poem, but in earlier times assonances change in conformity with the tirades of epics or chapters of Arthurian romances. The metre is described by modern scholars generally as consisting of lines of sixteen syllables with medial pause and final assonance. This metre approximates to that of the later epics, and supports the theory of epic disintegration; but the only ancient authority in its favour is Nebrija (1492), whose opinion was coloured by reminiscences of the Classic tetrameters. For Encina (1496), a musician, the ballads are octosyllables with alternate assonance, and his music was composed for quatrains. Encina's views commend themselves to champions of the antiquity of the octosyllable, admittedly the most national of Spanish metres. In the ancient ballads the phrase coincides with the assonance, but in the artistic ballads there is a perceptible tendency to compose in quatrains, the difference being due, perhaps, to some change in musical fashions.

The Spanish ballads are of varying value in all the epochs of their composition. They provide no escape from reality, and in respect of the more ethereal qualities of imagination they may disappoint one who comes to them directly from our own English balladry. They are profoundly human and realistic, and, above all, they are tenacious of the soil on which they have their birth. In this way they bind together all that is Spanish in Spanish literature, making a grand sequence from epics and chronicles, ballads, historical comedies, to modern legends and novels. Native to Castile, they migrated to all the Spanish-speaking world, and even into the territories of Portuguese and Catalan tongue: in these lands they were adopted, adapted, nationalized, refunded and conserved even when forgotten by

Castile, so that the extension of their use as popular and traditional literature defines the widest range of that one culture in three languages which we call Hispanic or Iberian. Other forms of art occupy more than a single linguistic area, but usually with some degree of specialization: only the ballads occupy evenly the whole.

V. The Golden Age [1]

There is no rigid division between the Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Spain of the Middle Ages, and yet the greater intensity of her life and the acceleration of her cultural development gives to the 'Golden Age' a character of its own. The invention of printing did not cancel the industry of transcribing manuscripts, and its texts were at first the classics of the Middle Ages, many of which are conserved to us wholly by the early printed editions; but the printers made literature accessible to a far wider class of readers, and in its reaction upon authors created a profession. The Press was a powerful ally of the new humanism acquired by Spanish scholars in Italy. The pursuit of Classical knowledge had been a feature of Spanish culture from the days of the 'magni reges' of León and had never a more distinguished exponent than Alfonso the Wise: in the period we are now discussing it gains greater momentum through contact with Italy, and carries with it the mass of the nation. The union of Aragon with León-Castile, and the completion of Peninsular unity by the conquest of Granada, accentuated the feeling of Hispanic patriotism, for which a motive was sought, not in history, but in religion. It is crusading zeal that, in Camões' lines, distinguishes the twin empires of Spain and Portugal from the remaining nations of Europe. The Catholic spirit, surprisingly in the background during the actual period of the Peninsular crusades, was intensely and increasingly felt during this period: in capital errors, such as the establishment of the Inquisition and the expulsions of Jews and Moriscos, as well as in the moral reform of the religious Orders, and the new vitality which streams from the visions of the great mystics. The Catholicism of Spain, however, was national: the Inquisition was an instrument of government; the ecclesiastical dignitaries

[1] The Golden Age (*Siglo de Oro*) of Spanish Literature and Art lasts from about 1580–1680 (from the beginnings of Lope's and Cervantes' activities to the death of Calderón or from El Greco's arrival in Spain to the death of Murillo). From 1492 to 1580 is a period better described as the Spanish Renaissance; but as several literary types reach perfection before 1580, the phrase 'Golden Age' has been here extended to include both the Golden Age, strictly so called, and the Renaissance.

were nominees of the Crown, and, especially in colonial administration, its trusted assistants; and the Popes suffered more personal danger from Charles V and Philip II than from Henry of England or the German Protestants. Having no quarrel between Church and State on their own soil and having achieved the moral purgation that their fifteenth century required, the Spanish monarchs and theologians were incapable of appreciating the motives of those who sacrificed the unity of doctrine and polity in order to attain precisely these ends: at Trent, therefore, they stood forward as the champions of a reunited Christendom, forcing spiritual reforms on the reluctant Italians and attempting the re-conversion of the protesting Germans and Dutch, towards which end Spain created the disciplined phalanx of the Jesuits and utilized the spiritual exaltation of the mystics. In another chapter have been described the events which made it evident at last that Spanish predominance could not indefinitely persist. The political decadence which dates from the Battle of Rocroi (1643) was followed, with a generation's interval, by spiritual exhaustion; and from the death of Calderón (1681) until the subjects of the Bourbons started to rebuild the fabric of national culture in the second quarter of the following century, we find the nadir of Spanish literature. The great cycle begun by Alfonso the Wise had run its whole course, and the modern Spanish literature of European inspiration had not commenced its rise.

The humanists completed the vernacularization of literature, perhaps in their own despite. By insisting on the need for classical purity in Latin diction, they made composition in that idiom the preserve of technicians; and at the same time their programme for the advancement of the vernacular speech towards a parity with the ancients powerfully stimulated its use in departments of study hitherto considered too grave for its employment, notably in theology and philosophy. They themselves cultivated the learned speech, with the result that many of the most influential Spanish treatises of the sixteenth century are composed in Latin. Antonio de Nebrija or Lebrija (1444–1522) stands at their head, a grammarian of no great logical distinction when compared with his Italian masters, but a pedagogue of tireless iteration, who impressed on the reformed University of Salamanca the doctrine of humanism. He was inferior as a Latinist to the brilliant Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523–1600), to whose commentary on Garci-Laso de la Vega we owe the circumstance that that poet is the best edited of all writers of the Golden Age. The influence of

Erasmus is seen most clearly in the Valencian Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), the greatest of the group; he served as tutor to Mary of England, and his treatises on feminine education are among the best early discussions of that problem; his prayers are a principal source for the Book of Common Prayer; his letters to More and Erasmus are delightful in phrase and, with his other works, document the period of transition from scholasticism to humanism, together with the resurgence of scholasticism in his native land; while his little dialogues, written as school texts to assist in the acquisition of Latin, add to excellence of diction great charm of matter and manner. Vives, in his insistence on experiment as the only source of knowledge, was a Baconian before Bacon. To these names of general interest we must add those of certain specialists: of Hernán Pérez de Oliva (?1494–1531), who, with Sánchez de las Brozas, represents the progress of Hellenism in the Peninsula; Benito Arias Montano (?1526–1598), the librarian of El Escorial; Fox Morcillo, who reconciled Aristotle and Plato; Francisco de Vitoria, the forerunner of Grotius in the domain of international law; García Matamoros, author of the treatise *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione* (1553); the philosopher of the Jesuit Order Francisco Suárez (1548–1617); together with such brilliant Portuguese as André de Gouvêa (d. 1548), the reformer of the University of Coimbra, and Aires Barbosa. Though the works of the Humanists and Latinists have suffered from the neglect of their compatriots, it is not possible to forget, even in a short history, that theirs were the first apologies for the vernacular tongue, theirs the theories of its advancement which Herrera and Góngora followed; theirs was the science of Camões and theirs his esteem for the epic *genre*; theirs was the reasonable humanity of Cervantes. We cannot forget that Fray Luis de León was one of them; that Mariana composed in Latin before Castilian; and that apart from the disputes of Báñez and Cano the most subtle plays of Tirso de Molina and Calderón are wanting in system and context.

Lyrical poetry during the Golden Age reflects more than any other the influence of Italy and Italian prosody. It may be dated from the year 1526, when the Venetian ambassador suggested to Juan Boscán Almogáver (?–1542) the attempt to compose Castilian poems in the metres and manner of Italy. In Boscán the Catalan muse became Castilian: he was a talented rather than an inspired fashioner of verses, and his experiment would have failed had he not secured the support of his friend

Garci-Laso de la Vega (1503–1536), one of the most equable and tactful minds of the age. Garci-Laso's stay in the Neapolitan viceroyalty gave him a deeper appreciation of the Italian style than was possible for his friend, and the slender volume of his poetry, though not without shortcomings, combined tact in adaptation with inspiration in invention and musical charm of execution. He gave a patent of naturalization to all the leading Italian metres, but was pre-eminently successful in the canzon and eclogue, his 'Flower of Gnido' (*Canción a la Flor de Gnido*) and first Eclogue being unsurpassed in their kind. Garci-Laso's diction is of elegant simplicity, choice but not averse to racy phrases, copious, flowing and harmonious. In respect of matter, though the poet is resolutely third-personal and prefers objective fashions such as that of the eclogue, he yet incorporates into Spanish poetry a greater fullness and subtlety of personal allusion than can be discovered in the *Cancioneros*. The same service was performed for Portuguese letters by Francisco de Sá de Miranda (1485–1558) on his return from Italy in 1527, and his early experiments were renewed on receipt of the published works of Garci-Laso and Boscán, in 1543. Miranda, however, like Santillana, committed the error of admitting into his adaptations too great an admixture of the irregular lines tolerated by previous Hispanic poetry. Despite some noble sonnets, Miranda's best work is to be found in traditional metres used with a new seriousness, as in his famous address to John III; still more is he to be credited with the restoration to poetry of the Portuguese tongue, thus withstanding the Castilianization of his country which was almost complete in the Court of Manuel the Fortunate.

The succeeding course of poetry in Portugal is similar to, but more simple than, that of Castile. All the lyrists save Antonio Ferreira are bilingual, and in virtue of his Castilian pieces alone Camões would deserve a prominent place in this essay. His lyrical poems in Portuguese—the Babylonian roundels, some eclogues and sonnets, and the autobiographical pieces—place him on the summit of Peninsular achievement as one of the greatest lyrists of the world: he is full of passion, profoundly melancholy, deep of thought, but also versatile, courtly, satirical, an absolute master of all the resources of his prosody from the gravity of octave and canzon to the wit and dexterity of the motto and gloss. In the 'Simonides', 'Vinde cá', Mondego and Socotra canzons, Siamese roundels and sonnet on the death of his Chinese slave-girl he has no rival in the Peninsula; but much of his work is in common form and on a lower level. The eclogues have, in particular, a certain cloying sweetness combined

with conventionality of outlook which came to be the characteristic of the Camonists, especially as it was also the manner of his nearest Portuguese rival, Diogo Bernárdez (d. 1605), whose pastorals derive their music from the tune of the waters of Lima River. In the work of his brother, Agostinho da Cruz, the religious lyre of Portugal finds its most inspired master. While the bulk of Portuguese poetry is Italianate and bucolic, three senior contemporaries of Sá de Miranda worked in traditional styles: the charm of Gil Vicente's farces consists in his attentiveness to popular lyrism, including the last echoes of the *cossante*; while in the work of the two friends Bernardim Ribeiro and Christovam Falcão, particularly that of the former, the traditional octosyllables run with smooth cadence in expression of the characteristic Portuguese mood of *saudade* or vague pervasive melancholy.

In the centre of the Peninsula there was greater variety of lyrical experience. The Italian innovations triumphed over the witty and far from obstinate opposition of Cristóbal de Castillejo, and in the third quarter of the century evolved in two directions. Fray Luis de León (?1527–1591), and the humanists who surrounded him, sought the perfection of style in simplicity and sincerity, and in real depth of thought. They proposed Horace as their model, preferred short stanzas, and especially the *lira* (7.11.7.7.11.), but generally failed to impose order and architecture on the poem as a whole. In their leader, Horatian influences gave way to Platonic, and all became inspired by intense Biblical study: his lyrics are informed by the sublimest concepts of Platonic philosophy, and in their faithful and unsophisticated reflection of his experience they reach the zenith of personality. There is a certain lack of variety and the more elemental emotions: but an unrivalled intellectual eminence persists throughout all León's work in a passionate aspiration after truth, beauty and justice. Human passion finds a vent for itself in the expression of Divine longings when we pick out the slender, but imperishable, body of San Juan de la Cruz's lyrics from the morass of prose that surrounds them: it would seem that the genius of central Spain could not achieve self-forgetful abandon save under the goad of religious ecstasy. San Juan de la Cruz shares simplicity of stanza and structure with the Salamancans, though he was not one of León's circle: but the Sevilian Fernando de Herrera (1534–1597), 'the Divine', sought for perfection not in sincerity but in pomp and magniloquence, not in an unsophisticated sequence of simple stanzas, but in the weight of odes, the artifice of sonnets, the riches of

Latin vocabulary and syntax, the elegance and parade of mythological allusion. Less truly learned than the Salamancans, less rich in content and in thought, Herrera's Pindaric genius found its fitting expression in national odes on the victory of Lepanto, the defeat of Alcacerquebir, or the career of St. Ferdinand. Less interest now attaches to his sonnets, though they attracted the attention of his contemporaries, among whom his influence was predominant, both because of Andalusia's fertility of poetic talent, and because he took the precaution of publishing his work, while that of the Salamancans yet lay in manuscript.

In the later years of the century, an equilibrium established itself in Madrid between the traditional and the Italian prosodies and between the rival schools of style. The two Argensolas represent this equilibrium in Aragon; and in the capital there were immense hordes of poets, including all the dramatists, at whose head we must place Lope Félix de Vega Carpio (1562–1635). Lope de Vega's volume of production in lyric verse is immense; he is brilliant in burlesque, and happier than any of his contemporaries in catching the echo of truly popular sentiment. In the expression of simple emotion, including simple religious emotion, he is without a peer. His diction is copious and fluid, endless in word and rhyme, profuse and prolix, lucid to the point of banality. Popular acceptance was his criterion in lyrical poetry as in the drama, and thus he drifted into a position of disagreement with the tenets of all Renaissance criticism. Herrera had insisted on the right of the poet to choose his audience, and on his duty to attend only to the plaudits of competent critics (*los doctos*): Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561–1627) did no more than carry on the tradition of Herrera when he latinized his syntax, increased his vocabulary, complicated his allusions and subtilized his expression to the point of passing beyond the comprehension of a careless listener. Gongorism, named after its most illustrious champion, or Culteranism from its appeal to the cultured, is a stylistic vice arising out of the excessive cultivation of expression, as Conceptism (championed by Quevedo) is a vice caused by the over-cultivation of the concept: but as hyper-refinements of thought cannot but be reflected in the phrase, gongorism is the more general vice. Gongorism is, however, as fully developed in Juan de Mena as in Góngora, and it is as flagrant in Góngora's ode on Tapia's Camões (1580) as in the *Polifemo* and *Soledades* (1611 and 1613). If we grant the poet's right to pick his audience, these poems need not be regarded as unintelligible, for they yield their meaning duly to an attentive reader; their classicism is no greater than that

of an average man of culture who knows his Ovid well, their neologisms have been admitted by the language, their inversions are no more than the remains of conjugations and declensions can amply bear. More peculiar to Góngora than his gongorism is the unexpected music of his lines and verse-paragraphs, and his sustained metaphorical manner. We may go further. In the *Polifemo* the natural background is of more consequence than the story, in the *Soledades* the story is a shadow and natural scenes succeed one another as reflections of the poet's soul. Góngora is on the road to that philosophic interpretation of nature, not as an external tableau but as part of one's inner experience, that is the peculiar glory of Wordsworth. Both Góngora's poems remain unfinished, perhaps because his vision was incomplete.

It was the lesser and not the greater quality of Góngora's work that formed his school, which, apart from Villamediana and Jáuregui, is continued by the later dramatists. In Portugal, where there was no drama of consequence other than in Castilian, Gongorism met Camonism in the bucolics of Francisco Rodríguez Lobo (*c.* 1580–*c.* 1625) and his successors. Lobo is the most notable figure of his century in Portuguese letters, which, under the Philips and even under the first Braganza kings, was suffering a process of renewed Castilianization, which affected the stage (Matos Fragoso) and serious prose (Manuel de Melo, Faria e Sousa) so as to leave to the nymphs of Tagus, in the decadence of epic inspiration, almost only the lyric string.

The artistic regeneration of Spanish literature by the Renaissance is best illustrated in the evolution of the schools of lyric poetry; its moral and religious effect by the sequence of great mystics. Together with the mystics we consider didactic writers because whenever the mystic is diverted from his proper business of communion with the Divine, or when inspiration fails, his writing becomes didactic. The true Spanish mystic is unconscious of an audience, conscious of no more than two realities—his soul and God,—and of but one purpose in existence—the union of his soul with God. But this state of absorption is one to which only rare souls may attain, and that not for the whole of their experience; on cooler levels their sound and prudent advice on daily conduct, or their instructions for the attainment of the experiences they have enjoyed, belong to the sphere of didacticism.

Before the rise of Spanish mysticism, three writers of importance practised the moral or critical treatise. Juan Boscán Almogáver's workmanlike translation of Castiglione's *Corteggiano*

(1534) was not only an excellent model of perspicuous prose, but presented to his countrymen a classic of gentlemanly deportment which had in Spain, as elsewhere, a profound influence on society. The 'estilo cortesano' of the sixteenth century was a necessary corrective to the gross realism of the fifteenth, and performed services analogous to those of the Arthurian models of chivalry in the thirteenth and fourteenth, 'under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness'. No such ends were served by the famous works of the Bishop of Mondoñedo, Fray Antonio de Guevara (*c.* 1480–1545), celebrated in his day for the 'golden book' of Marcus Aurelius, otherwise known as the *Reloj de Príncipes* (1529), the 'golden letters' addressed to his friends (1539–1542) and the *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* (1539), which has received modern praise. The argument of the 'Princes' Watch', that a prince must be, firstly, a good Christian, then a good father, and in the third place a good ruler, shows us that we are dealing not with a conquest effected by the human intelligence, but with a rhetorical disquisition whose justification must reside in its style. It was the 'aureate diction' of Guevara which captured the attention of Europe and made him more celebrated and influential than many better writers, so that in our land, for instance, Lord Berners' translation is a collateral source of Elizabethan euphuism. If Guevara's secret lies in his words alone, his contemporary, Juan de Valdés (?–1545), claimed to deal with ideas only: 'I write as I speak: I merely take care to use words that clearly indicate my meaning, which I declare with all possible simplicity, because I consider affectation unsuited to any language.' And, in fact, Valdés' 'Dialogue of the Languages' (*Diálogo de las Lenguas*) is the best model of the plain, unrhetorical manner in the Spanish tongue; besides being, with Santillana's *Proem* and Luzán's *Poetics* (see p. 156), one of the very few first-rate contributions to literary criticism made before Milá y Fontanals. Unfortunately, Valdés being an unorthodox Catholic, if not a heretic outright, his work did not come before his fellow-nationals until the eighteenth century, too late to correct the tendencies towards over-ornamentation in prose style which dominated the whole of the Golden Age.

An immediate forerunner of Spanish mysticism can be discerned in the posthumous *Dialogues concerning Love* (1535) of the expelled Jew, León Hebreo or Judas Abrabanel (*c.* 1460–1520). The work is extant in an Italian text heavily impregnated with hispanisms, in which the metaphors and metaphorical ratiocination of the Spanish writers is already in full bloom. The movement in the

Peninsula was delayed until the mid years of the sixteenth century, and by its conclusion was already in decline amid an increasing mass of reiterated precepts. Arising from the fervour engendered by the Catholic Counter-Reformation, it shared with Jesuitism a distrust of Reason, which had proved to be the source of so much discord in the Church, and stressed obedience and implicit trust in the received dogmas. So firmly are these dogmas held that they never come under discussion, and for that reason the Spanish mystics are singularly free from theological bias. They argue about nothing: their whole business is to realize emotionally, with all possible intensity of self-abandon, those primary tenets of our faith which most identify the individual soul with the Divine. As mystics they have no concern with any other being, though as didactics they may offer sound and sane spiritual advice or even intervene effectively in mundane administration: as mystics, they endeavour to abstract their hearts from the world, and when this degree of seclusion is gained through meditation and spiritual discipline, to eject their Ego from their own souls, filling these in their entirety with the Divine influence. In the effort to give concrete reality to spiritual experiences they are supported by metaphors,—the stair whereby the soul ascends to God, the rooms through which it may progress, the chains that bind it, the flame that burns without destroying, the dark night when the soul is voided of self and has not yet received the full glory of its Maker. Metaphor is the language of emotion, and in emotion the intellect had to be submerged; the consequence of which was that such intellectual giants as Luis de León or St. Ignatius Loyola, despite their good-will, are never pure mystics. Religious emotion, too, has not the capacity for variety that is possessed by intellectual religion, so that after the gamut of metaphors had been run through, few chances remained for fresh descriptions of the same emotional experiences; as early as the writings of Fray Juan de los Ángeles repetition sets in and the didactic element rises into prominence.

At the head of Spanish mysticism stand two figures, a woman and a poet. The greater is Santa Teresa de Jesús (1515–1582), in the world Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumeda, the reformer of the Carmelite Order, who describes the whole of her religious experience, with biographical detail, in her *Life* (*Libro de su vida*: *c.* 1562) and idealistically in the *Moradas* (1577). The former is a spiritual autobiography of the same style and excellence as Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, whose title expresses the same thought as the alternate title ('Libro de las

misericordias de Dios ') used by the Spanish saint. The narrative is sparing of dates and facts, but follows from experience to experience, from childish aspirations after sainthood and girlish rebellion against parental authority, to contrition, illumination, spiritual retirement and final union with God. In the *Moradas* the same progress is detailed systematically as a progress through the rooms of a spiritual castle into the innermost chamber of complete identification with the Divine. The books of the Relations (*Relaciones*) and of the Foundations (*Fundaciones*) are supplementary sources for her biography, the latter being concerned with the monasteries founded by her efforts, and in the Letters (*Cartas*) she appears in a singularly attractive light, in her heroism under persecution, her humility under correction, her admiration for excellence in others, her sanity in counsel, her ever-present wit and good humour. All her works are written in a style tenacious of the soil, racy, sane, humorous: it is the language of the peasants of Ávila, transferred to paper with the least possible literary sophistry. The words are all current coin, yet virile and often of surprisingly exact intention: the sentences are colloquial, with frequent inversions, suppression of pronouns and the machinery of precise relation, with rapid and astonishing transitions: qualities which, however, differ from mere incorrection by their constancy in the style, and by their intimate relation to the sincerity of the writer's thought. It is in a sense the simplest and most natural of Spanish prose styles; and it is assuredly the least capable of imitation. Much narrower are the excellences of Juan de Yepes y Álvarez or San Juan de la Cruz (1542–1591), disciple of St. Teresa, and reformer of the Carmelite monks. His description of the mystic life is concentrated on the last two only of the *Moradas* in his *Dark Night of the Soul, Ascent of Mount Carmel, Living Flame of Love* and *Spiritual Canticle between the Soul and the Bridegroom.* In these lyrics there is a passion more vibrant and moving than can anywhere else be found in Castilian literature, which can only be equalled by Camões at his best. The white heat of the author's emotion is luminous, but the shades gather round him when he attempts to explain his meaning in prose, and what intelligibility is found in the commentaries is a reflection from his verse.

Two great prose stylists are aggregated to the mystics, though neither claimed to have attained to the high state of union, namely, Fray Luis de Granada and Fray Luis de León. Granada (1504–1588) is above all a preacher, master of a rotund paragraph in what is perhaps the most oratorical of the languages of men.

His Ciceronian genius was expended on a variety of religious works: translations, meditations, sermons, biography of contemporary saints, compendia of Christian doctrine. His four cardinal works deal with Prayer, the Christian Life, the Symbol of our Faith, and the Guidance of Sinners (*Guía de pecadores*: 1567). In the prose of Fray Luis de León we instantly recognize the poet. He was strongly attracted throughout his life by the poetical books of the Old Testament, and especially by the Psalms, Job and the Song of Solomon. To comment and expound these worthily was the supreme object of his life, for which he formed his own admirable style as a lyrist, and in which he intended to find employment for his varied talents as poet and scholar. Fine and sensitive as are his commentaries, they are subservient to his translations from the sacred texts: and his prose reaches its noblest achievements when it approximates to his poetry, or rather when it is using the very words and ideas of his greatest lyrics. These opportunities happen more frequently when he is not bound by the versicles of a text, but is free to adorn so general a theme as the thirteen Names of Christ (*Nombres de Cristo*), a work (1583–1585) famous for its two admirable prologues, its description of the Tormes at Salamanca and the *granja* of La Flecha, and such supreme passages of lyrical prose as the chapter on the Good Shepherd. A lower level is held by his treatise (1583) on the Perfect Wife (*La Perfecta Casada*), in whom he expects to find the virtues of King Lemuel's mother.

In Fray Juan de los Ángeles (?1536–1609) the mystical life becomes matter for precepts, and contemplation passes into preaching, whether he treat of the spiritual struggle between the resisting soul and the love of God, or of the conquest of the secret kingdom of heaven. The *Conversión de la Magdalena* of Pedro Malón de Chaide (?1530–1596) also attains to the front rank in this style of composition, and he shows the stimulus of Luis de León's teaching in the abundance and excellence of his verses, his varied picturesque prose and his defence of the employment of his mother tongue on so serious a subject. The attainments of Portuguese writers in this manner are not so high as the Castilian. Frei Heitor Pinto's (*c.* 1528–*c.* 1584) *Image of the Christian Life* is a series of dialogues on general topics, philosophy, religion, justice, tribulation, the solitary life and the thought of death. In the Augustinian Tomé de Jesús (1529–1582) the style gains warmth and colour in its account of the sufferings of Christ (*Os Trabalhos de Jesús*), from the author's experience of the Moroccan prisons after the humiliating disaster of Alcacer-

quebir (1578). In Manuel Bernardes (1644–1710), author of *Luz e Calor* and *Exercicios Espirituaes*, religious didacticism has been the source of the most pithy, graceful and finished writing in the Portuguese language, modest, humorous, precise, intense and restrained.

The *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel* (*Consolação das tribulações de Israel*) by Samuel Usque, printed at Ferrara in 1553, escapes all classification. Its matter is historical, being a catalogue of the persecutions of the chosen people, and of the ruin of their enemies; its form is that of a pastoral novel in dialogue; its spirit is the spirit of vengeance, without stint or pity, for the consolations promised by Nahum and Zecharia to the long-suffering Jacob are the utter obliteration of the Christian nations, his persecutors, even as Rome and Babylon had been obliterated. The indictment of Christendom is terrible and just, denounced with a sombre gravity, unrelieved by any lighter touch of fancy.

Among the later Spanish didactic writers two names are outstanding. Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas (1580–1645) ranks next to Cervantes as a Spanish prose writer, and has been converted by his countrymen into a legend. He is much more admired than read, for if the attractiveness of his style lies largely in his abundant and racy vocabulary, his innuendoes, puns and allusions, it must be admitted that these are almost as obscure to his compatriots to-day as to the stranger within the gates. As a poet Quevedo is best in the more prosy styles, satire and burlesque. His activity in prose was insatiable, and covers treatises on moral and political subjects, literary polemics in support of his doctrine of Conceptism, humorous and general journalism, etc. He remains in the memory for two works principally: his Dreams (*Sueños*), a kaleidoscopic satire on fantastic subjects which caricature the society of his time (1606–1627 or later), and the picaresque novel entitled *Historia de la vida del Buscón* (1626). Deficient in grace, form and humanity, Quevedo alienates the reader through his want of sympathy: his unhappy hero is merely a butt for the shafts of his pitiless wit, and as we are unable to feel our common humanity in him, we turn against his maker. The Conceptist doctrine was also championed by the Jesuit Baltasar Gracián (1601–1658), who preaches 'discretion' of style in his *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio* and of political conduct in his *Héroe*. Merit he regards as wholly due to 'discretion', which involves a Machiavellian subtlety in the politician, and extreme compression of language in the stylist. In the *Criticón* he rises to a rather more philosophical height. To

Andrenio, the natural man, and Critilo, the man of understanding, residence in Spain, France and Rome reveals with impartial satire the sorry customs and texture of the world, from which they are rescued by timely disillusionment.

The literatures of the Spanish Peninsula are rich in the consequences of Columbus' discovery of America (1492) and Vasco da Gama's voyage to India (1496), giving rise to a series of reports from eye-witnesses, which have the freshness and vivacity that is to be expected of men looking for the first time in history on the inhabitants of another world. In the front rank we have the reports of the great discoverers and conquerors themselves. Columbus' letters and journal, together with his *Life*, by his son, illustrate his amazing mind, easily erected by success and dejected beyond measure by misunderstanding, but tenacious of his great designs because with him the dream had already become a reality before its realization. Balboa's reports show him sage and prudent amid improvident adventurers, and the five letters of Hernán Cortés, especially the fifth, are not unworthy to stand beside Cæsar's commentaries for their unspoken but implied defence of his conduct and their penetrating and exact information. Of Magellan's voyage we have only reports of strangers, but Vasco da Gama's is related in Alvaro Velho's quaint log (*Roteiro*), irregular in style and unsophisticated in its candid wonder. The foundations of Portuguese dominion in India, which are the foundations of our own, were laid by the great Afonso de Albuquerque, and the *Comentarios* published by his son Bras represent doubtless the words and sentiments of his father in the hazardous turns of his undertaking.

Behind the great figures there lies a cloud of witnesses, various in literary and evidential value, but all noteworthy for the originality of their information. The disastrous attempt to employ the feeble Arawaks of Hispaniola by forced labour gave rise to Bartolomé de las Casas' (1474–1566) warm-hearted protests (*Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*). It is the work of an advocate, and in its championship of the indigenes it coincides with one of the principal duties undertaken by the Church in the New World : the exploitation of the Arawaks was stopped as soon as its consequences were clear. Las Casas' work has gained additional celebrity for political reasons, but Humboldt's calculations of mortality made on the narrow basis of ten years' experience give as their results figures higher than the total probable population of the New World in that era! The conquest of Mexico is detailed from two sides : Gómara writes an apology

for Cortés, drawing upon the latter's despatches as well as on personal experience; from Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492–*c.* 1581) we learn the soldier's point of view, in language of great vividness and in a manner that is transparently honest. The Peruvian conquest is less happily represented in literature by Cieza de León, but in the *Florida del Inca* and the *Comentarios reales* of Garci-Laso de la Vega el Inca, son of a Peruvian princess, we have a species of historical Utopia, the perfect socialistic state, which has clouded all subsequent investigations into South American antiquities. New Granada also has its historians, but a special interest attaches to the colonies established on the Paraná in the modern territory of Paraguay, seeing that there alone did the Spanish invaders lack a pre-existing civilization as the basis of their efforts. The history of the enterprise, which also led to the foundation of Buenos Aires, was arduous, but it occupied only half the colonial activity of Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who, before his eventful governorship of the South American colony, had experienced the worst privations during ten years among the Indians of Louisiana, being the first man to behold the Mississippi. In the *Naufragios* of this traveller we learn, better than from any other source, the heroism and suffering which was the cost to Spain of her magnificent discoveries.

Portuguese narratives are concerned principally with Africa and Asia, with a slight interest in Brazil, and in the Moluccas they meet the westernmost extension of Spanish historiography. Concerning Africa the principal documents are Zurara's account of the Guinea explorations, already mentioned, and Francisco Alvarez's (*c.* 1470–*c.* 1540) *True Information concerning Prester John's Lands* (*Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João*: 1540). But Africa was not tamed by the Portuguese, and its most enduring monument in literature is the collection known as the *Historia Trágico-Marítima*, which describes the most celebrated wrecks that occurred on its inhospitable shores, and the privations of those who were unfortunate enough to escape the sea. In India our documentation is denser and more sprightly. Fernão López de Castanheda, Gaspar Corrêa and Diogo do Couto are frequently the eye-witnesses of what they describe, and always enjoy authority from the circumstances of their residence in the east, supplemented in Couto's case by the most careful research in the archives of Goa. But the palm is borne by a traveller, indeed, but one of low credibility. Fernão Mendes Pinto had no intention of deceiving the public, and indeed only wrote for the amusement of a child; but in his repeated imprisonments and shipwrecks he lost the notes of a quarter of a century's

wanderings, and in place of written mementoes he had his astonishing gifts of imagination. When travelling in known territories, as in Sumatra or Siam, the general lines of his wanderings are clear, even if the details be open to doubt; but when he is beyond the range of observation, lack of data and excess of imagination combine to form a narrative that is remarkable indeed. But in all parts of the work, whether we have our feet on terra firma or are wandering in a geography of the imagination, the reader is the slave of Mendes Pinto's picturesque manner of narration. His *Peregrinações*, which were early turned into Castilian, and from thence into the other European speeches, is the classic of pure adventure, and the journey from Hangchow Bay to Nanking and Peking, not knowing whether he was travelling to life or to death, is a classic that every schoolboy should know. Mendes Pinto alleges himself to have been one of St. Francis Xavier's companions in Japan: that great missionary to the Orient is the subject of a special biography by João de Lucena.

These great events, together with the sudden expansion of Spanish influence throughout Europe, gave a great impulse to history, which had to be rewritten in terms no longer of nations, but of world empires. The historiographical activity of this era rivals its literature of travel in extent, but, save for historians, has a less ready appeal to modern readers. It is sufficient here to notice certain general tendencies which differentiate the writings of this age from its predecessors. Humanism greatly stimulated archæology, and as early as Nebrija we meet the will to reject the system of etymologies proffered by the General Chronicles: in Florián de Ocampo this manner is complete. Ocampo etymologizes with all the *naïveté* of Alfonso X or Rodrigo of Toledo, but in a manner more in keeping with the prejudices of his age, and his work powerfully stimulated antiquarian research, which was carried to its height by Ambrosio de Morales, Argote, and the historians of the great religious Orders. In Jerónimo Zurita's (1512–1580) *Anales de la corona de Aragón*, the taste for research was combined with scientific method and infinite patience, so that both his work itself, and his marginalia wherever these can be found, have their place among the primary authorities for the subject to this day. Unfortunately Zurita's gifts did not include that of style, and he yielded pride of place to a less veridical historian, the Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1535–1624). In Mariana the influence of Livy reached its highest point of development in Castilian historiography, as it did in Portugal with João de Barros' celebrated *Décadas da Asia*, or

history of the first years of the Indian viceroyalty. Livy's influence was already prominent in Pedro López de Ayala, but in Mariana and Barros it extended to the structure of the sentence (Mariana's history was first composed in Latin) and to the conception of history itself. For these authors the primary object of history is not truth but glory. Truth, of course, they pursue, but without feeling an obligation to resolve its many doubts: probability is their guide when facts are difficult to attain, as, for instance, when Mariana details Roderic's words and acts before the disaster of 711. But they hold with Livy that history's purpose should be to preserve noteworthy events from oblivion, and their plans lead them to a heroic panegyric of their respective nations, which could not find ultimate expression in so cold a medium as prose, even if that prose be heightened by all the artifices of the periodic style. In Barros and Mariana, history borders on the epic, and clamours for verse. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's (1503–1575) *Guerra de Granada* (published in 1627) offers the peculiarity of being modelled on the sententious manner of Sallust and Tacitus, to the extent of paraphrasing speeches and descriptions from these authors. The rising of the Moors in the Alpujarras (1568–1571) is not an event of primary importance, but acquires significance from the author's competence as a man of affairs, who has access to good information and can criticize with knowledge the movements of troops and the plans of administrators.

We may pass summarily over the chroniclers of the reigns of Charles V and Philip II, as well as the authors of the *Monarchia Lusitana*, in order to mention the three important historians of the seventeenth century, Solís, Moncada and Melo, who alone seem to maintain their poise and gravity in the *débâcle* of Spanish letters under the last Hapsburgs. Solís' classical and well-informed history of Mexico enjoyed fame as the principal authority on that conquest, until Prescott's masterpiece appeared. In Moncada, Muntaner's old tale of Roger Blum's romantic expedition to the Near East was clothed in a Castilian not unworthy of its original exposition, though with less than Muntaner's vivacity and warmth of patriotic sentiment. Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608–1666), a Portuguese, who later wrote clever conceptist essays and verse in his own tongue, is principally remembered for his classic account of the Catalan insurrection of 1640–1642, in the *Guerra de Cataluña* (1645).

Both the astonishing events of the early sixteenth century and the Livian theory in history, fortified by the critical views

of a Vida or a Tasso and by the prestige of Ariosto and his followers, required an expression of national experience in the form of a classical or national epic. We find, therefore, all the outstanding lyric poets promising their patrons to sing of higher things, and contemporary literature is rife with prognostications as to the Vergil that was to be. It remained to find the subject and the man. As for subjects, the most varied and diverse were attempted, after the initiation of the fashion in or about 1550. Many imitated the Italians, whether in the free romance of Ariosto or in the more cloistered manner of Tasso: Lope de Vega had leisure to imitate both. The Gongorists (and Lope de Vega) sought to re-tell classical legends, principally those already much more happily told by Ovid. Others looked to religion: to the life of Christ, the legend of the Virgin, the lives of saints (here also we meet Lope de Vega with his *San Isidro Labrador*). Contemporary history was ransacked for epical possibilities, as in Lope de Vega's *Dragontea* (Drake) and *Corona trágica* (Mary Stuart). The old national legends supplied a secondary masterpiece in Balbuena's *Bernardo*. More success attended the cult of exotic and transmarine topics. In Portugal this produced respectable verse chronicles such as Corte Real's second siege of Diu; in America the manner gave rise to Juan de Castellanos' unending *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*, the most noteworthy product of literature among the Spanish colonists in the New World. From America Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533–1594) brought the better cantos of his *Araucana*. The subject of the Araucanian resistance is truly epic in grandeur and in incident; Ercilla adequately realizes the possibilities it offers for appreciation of deeds of heroism, and the author is exceptionally brilliant in description. The order of events is chronological, but after the close of the first part fantastical elements intrude, love affairs and episodic allusions to contemporary events, and the parade of erudition. Despite these defects, however, Ercilla retains his rank as the leading Renaissance epic poet of Castile, and is placed among the highest of those who have won the commendation but not the favours of Calliope.

A secondary cause of Ercilla's fall in the latter two-thirds of the *Araucana* may have been the powerful influence exercised by Luis Vaz de Camões (? 1524/5–1580), whose *Lusiads* had appeared in 1572 and was the most adequate example of the Vergilian epic demanded by the æsthetic feeling of the Renaissance. In the *Lusiads* national history conceived in the manner of Livy meets with the ocean-wide romance of the age of discoveries, the

Italian forms of art with the inspiration of Classical studies, and national spirit finds an issue in national channels of expression. The author's troubled life is reflected in its diurnal course in the corpus of his lyrical poems, from his witty glosses in the heigh-day of his popularity among the aristocratic exiles in Goa to the plangent notes of his great canzons, octaves and elegies: it is also found sublimated in the great epic, which was lived out in the twenty-five years of his wanderings and sufferings in the East, so that the spirit of Camões in all its nobler or more gracious aspects—in its permanent values—is, in fact, that 'illustrious heart of Lusitania' which is his real hero. It is this conception that gives novelty to the *Lusiads* among the epics of the world: the hero is a nation as a whole, not impersonally conceived, but not wholly identified with any of the personages that carry on the narrative. Vasco da Gama is, in fact, not the hero, but merely he whom Destiny called upon to execute the most typical feat of Portuguese history, the discovery of the road to India. His character surrenders many of its distinguishing marks to the Genius of Portugal, and his voyage is surrounded with mythology and allegory. Not so those parts of the poem in which the dominating personality of Portugal ran no risk from the prominence of individuals, the books of the kings (cantos iii and iv) and heroes (canto viii) and the book of the viceroys of India (canto x). The composition of the poem covers the whole of its author's life. The book of the kings was doubtless inspired by Camões' journey from the University of Coimbra to Lisbon in 1542, when his road passed through Batalha, Aljubarrota, Alcobaça, Leiria, and all the most historic ground in Portugal. Towards 1552, whether spontaneously or through reading the first of Barros' *Decades*, he was led to select Gama as his central figure, and his journey to India in 1553 furnished the details of Gama's voyage (cantos i, iii, v). The episode of the Twelve of England (canto vi) depends on Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos' *Triunfos de Sagramor* (concluded about the 5th August, 1552). When shipwrecked at the mouth of the Mekong (1559), the author escaped with only the manuscript of his poem, which breaks off in a celebrated aposiopesis (canto vii, 78). For the book of the viceroys he would require the use of the Goan archives and the aid of Diogo do Couto or other friends (1561 ff.—canto x). The poem was completed in Mozambique (1569), and the initial and final verses were appended in Portugal (1571). The *Lusiads* is, therefore, rich with the whole experience of his much buffeted life. It is a poem magnificent for its patriotism, full-blooded in its passion for action and for beauty, spacious as the ocean, somewhat

deficient in allegorical skill, and often of disconcerting pessimism ; the diction is clear, smooth and swelling, a ' voz sonora e eloquente '. The *Lusiads* has fixed Portuguese nationality and the Portuguese speech, and is a principal bond of union between Portugal and Brazil.

The influence of Camões is marked in the work of Bocage and those poets of the Arcadias who re-established the independence of Portuguese literature. Though the seventeenth century was, like the later fifteenth, characterized by a tendency towards the formation of one literature for the whole Peninsula, especially in the departments of history and the drama, the achievements of Camões' genius could not be forgotten, and were a rallying point for Portuguese nationalism in literature. With the reassertion of this nationalism, the severance between Spanish and Portuguese literatures was finally established on lines that have persisted to our day, and from Camões' time onwards we cease to treat Portuguese literature together with Spanish in our narrative.

The changes in fashions for prose fiction during this epoch are curiously correlated with the course of its political events. In the days of discovery and conquest, when new worlds could be expected to appear and empires fell to an adventurer's sword, the mood of elation translated itself into the romance of unlimited personal action, the chivalrous novel. Somewhat later in the century a more chastened ideal was offered by the pastoral novelists, working under the influence of humanist utopias, but with the end of the century disillusion gives rise to the realistic and picaresque novels which view life only on its under side, and contemplate its shortcomings. When the seventeenth century brought its disasters in the political sphere, the picaresque novel was almost the only narrative prose in existence, and it alone partially resisted the imaginative stagnation of the eighteenth.

The new movement took its rise in Montalvo's redaction of the old mediaeval romance of *Amadís de Gaula* (first known edition 1508), which his preface declares to have been inspired by the chivalrous deeds of the siege of Granada. To the original three books Montalvo added a fourth, not inferior in manner though unnecessary in fact, and revised the whole style until he formed a manner pleasing to his age, smooth and inclined to magniloquence, but flexible : a style already indicated by the *Tristan* romance and later carried to its classic development by Cervantes. More immediately influential was Montalvo's device

of announcing in the tail of one book the birth of the hero of the next. This trick led to the invention of strings of romances linked by a common genealogy, and of the twelve parts of Amadís' cycle, all inferior to the first, we need only notice the ninth, which announces the advent of the pastoral fashion. A rival to the Amadises was found in the family of the Palmerins, the most distinguished of whom was the third, *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* by Francisco de Moraes (prepared for publication in 1544). The immense mass of chivalric novels produced during the first half of the century, with a notable diminution of output thereafter, is chiefly remembered for its condemnation to the flames by Cervantes' priest, but it so toned in with the temper of the age as to gain an immense popularity and become a source of peril for the austerer forms of morality. The companions of Cortés saw in Mexico the magical scenery of their chivalrous romances, and named California after an island in one of them; and in literary consequences it is sufficient to allude to Cervantes' amazing knowledge of their contents, which still exceeds that of his most industrious commentators.

The pastoral tradition first appears about the year 1530 in the ninth *Amadís*, as we have noticed, and was carried further by Bernardim Ribeiro's *Menina e Moça*, in Portugal, an autobiographical love romance of dissolving views, interspersed with charming lyrics in the popular vein: the most complete example of Portuguese *saudade*. With another Portuguese, Jorge de Montemor or Montemayor, the pastoral romance in Castilian reaches its maturity. Montemayor's *Diana* (*c.* 1559) is a medley of prose and verse, in which the prose—flowing, graceful, somewhat languid and effeminate—is superior to the verse; a relationship which is reversed in his successor Gil Polo, the Valencian. Their novels depend wholly for interest upon their style, as the subject-matter is colourless and conventional; but in their own day they offered the intellectual attraction of being representations of that ideal state of Nature which the humanists had declared to be original in human development and attainable by the use of reason and right conduct. For this cause Cervantes retained to the end his affection for his *Galatea* (1585), of which he never ceased to threaten a second part; and Lope de Vega took pride in his *Arcadia*.

Two other idealistic currents have to be distinguished in the Spanish romances of the Golden Age. The Byzantine novel of adventure exercised a powerful influence through translations of Heliodorus and Amyot's Longus, and had as their principal result Cervantes' last work, the *Persiles y Segismunda* (1617).

On the other hand, the Moors of Spain, once defeated, had been sentimentalized and adorned with all the attributes of Arthurian cavaliers ; the principal agent in this process (which has given American literature Washington Irving's *Conquest of Granada*) is Ginés Pérez de Hita's (? 1544–? 1619) historical novel *Guerras civiles de Granada* (? 1604), which is adorned with admirable frontier ballads. Pérez de Hita is the creator of the famous legend of the Abencerrajes, as well as of others which have received less world-wide notice, and he is the ultimate source of that excessively sentimental and chivalresque explanation of the Spanish temperament which is preferred by many strangers to the real Spain, and dubbed by them, again in deference to this author, 'Moorish'. Of the same class is the delightful little sentimental romance of *Abindarráez y Jarifa*, interpolated in Montemayor's *Diana*, after that author's death (1561), and possibly due to Antonio de Villegas in whose *Inventario* (licensed in 1551, printed in 1565) it also makes its appearance, though it probably must be attributed to some unknown predecessor. Simple, rapid, full of colour and affecting sentiment, there is no better short story than this in the literature of Spain.

In face of the romance that looks at life only through rose-coloured spectacles there also appeared that of smoked glasses. Realism is never far beneath the surface in the literature of Central Spain, and distinguishes this region from Portugal and Galicia where sentimentalism is supreme ; and even in the flush and glory of conquest and colonization, realism persistently recurs, while it dominates the period of disillusion and decay. As early as 1499 arose one of its primary masterpieces, Fernando de Rojas' *Tragi-comedy of Calisto and Melibœa*, better known (from its principal character) as *La Celestina* (? 1499). It is a novel in dialogue, too long for any stage and manifestly not intended for representation, carried out in the Terentian manner and with Terentian characters. It was doubtless intended to consist of five acts, like its principal derivative the *Eufrosina* of Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos, but the plan was altered after the completion of Act I, and the remaining 'acts' have the length and content of scenes. The distinction between the first and the other acts lies deeper than that noticed between the sixteen acts originally published and the five added in 1502, which all belong to the plan. In the central figure of the go-between Celestina, the tradition of the archpriests of Hita and Talavera is carried on in terms of the Renaissance ; and she with her court

of scamps, her arts and sorceries, her crudity of speech and wealth of popular expressions, stands out against the conventionality and sentimentalism of the hero and heroine, whom passion leads to death. A second protest of realism occurred in the mid-most years of the century, in the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). Lazarillo was already a proverbial character before the appearance of this work, and figured, doubtless in chapbooks, as a graceless simpleton who passed rapidly from master to master. The original form of his japes may still be distinguished in the additional tales of the Alcalá edition, but in the *Lazarillo* they have been arranged into a simple, but consecutive narrative, of which only the first three chapters have been fully developed along with the conclusion. This is the first and best of the picaresque novels,—that is, of those which describe all the shifts of a *pícaro* who adopts every contrivance for filling his belly save that of honest work: it differs from *Guzmán de Alfarache* by its absence of sermonizing, from the *Buscón* by the sympathy we feel for the comic hero.

It was only at the end of the century that *Lazarillo* bore fruit in Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599), to which a false and a genuine second volume were added later. Alemán's life was as unfortunate as that of his hero, and his notes on military service in Italy are of especial realism. Francisco López de Ubeda's *Pícara Justina* (1605) describes the female of the species in a series of disorderly episodes, and Vicente Espinel's *Marcos de Obregón* (1618) is of very diverse contents, but includes as a special feature the roguery of students at Salamanca. Quevedo's *Buscón* (1626) might easily have been the greatest of the series, which is never distinguished for formal merit as art, had the author been able to control his excessive wit, and not gone so far as to gain for his victim the loathing, as well as the pity, of the reader; but Quevedo has dispensed entirely with human sympathy, and his treatment is mordant, cruel and mocking.

The short stories of the era are not, perhaps, in their majority, realistic, but their principal interest is seen to reside in their serviceability as social documentation, whether for the facts or for the conventions dominating mutual intercourse. In them the influence of Italian story-tellers is noteworthy, of Boccaccio, Straparola, Bandello, Cintio. Cervantes is their only exponent of front rank, but Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina also cultivated the *genre*. Merit of a special kind attaches to Trancoso's *Contos e Historias de Proveito* (1575, ff.), which contain in addition

to Italian matter, tales derived from popular Portuguese tradition expressed in direct and effective vernacular. In Castile the most industrious cultivators of the short story were Salas Barbadillo and Castillo Solórzano, while a high documentary value is ascribed to the tales told by a talented lady, María de Zayas y Sotomayor (*Novelas ejemplares y amorosas*: 1637). A place apart must be conceded to Luis Vélez de Guevara's (*c.* 1578–1644) *Diablo Cojuelo* (1641) which stands half-way between the fantastically expressed satire of Quevedo's *Sueños* and the picaresque novel: like Quevedo, Vélez sports with language in puns, metaphors, extravaganzas and innuendoes, which pass the wit of commentators to explain. His work inspired the *Diable Boiteux* of Lesage, whose *Gil Blas de Santillane* (see p. 160) is indebted to three Spanish picaresque novels and to several comedies.

It was in this field that the most important single contribution by the Spanish Peninsula to world-literature was made, when she gave birth to the true novel by expressing the ideal in terms of the real and presenting to us the three dimensions of life. This is the significance, historically speaking, of the *Don Quixote* of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), who is now known to have been far other than the untutored genius of Romantic criticism. There is a strange discrepancy in æsthetic value between his various works, and those on which he most prided himself fall lowest in the scale. The unity of his work is, in fact, not artistic but intellectual, and has been described in this sense by Dr. Américo Castro in his penetrating *Pensamiento de Cervantes* (1926), the principal document for the study of our author. Cervantes' thought was educated during his stay in southern Italy amidst the humanists and liberal thinkers of the Neapolitan viceroyalty. To them he owes much of his humanity and his persistent rationalism. To avoid conflict with the theological identification of the Divine with the arbitrary and miraculous, the humanists based their arguments on the conception of Nature, wholly good and wholly reasonable. This ideal found literary expression in the pastoral novel, and persisted with Cervantes, who was an incurable optimist, from the publication of his *Galatea* in 1585 to the posthumous *Persiles* in 1617. As the ideal was attainable through perfect reason, all things were to be regulated by precept: and Cervantes never tires of setting forth the correct conditions of things, the true principles of drama, or of courtship or of knavery or of local government; he calls for the public examination of poets and provosts to test their fitness to be either; he discourses on ideal matrimony and

ideal justice. His thought falls into place as a system, singularly independent of the local conventions of his day, when textually compared with the writings of Erasmus or Telesio ; but we must not expect of Cervantes that his system be logically watertight. Indeed, his principal appeal comes from the impingement upon his ineradicable optimism of an alien view of life, the doctrine of authority, infallibility, and disillusion which emanated from Trent and gained strength from the manifest insufficiency of humanism. Cervantes is conscious not only of the ideal, but also that the ideal is never actually attained. He notes the discrepancy between his pastoral fictions and the actual conditions of shepherds in a state approximately that of Nature. In all his work, therefore, his dream is accompanied by the shadow of reality. In the drama, this sardonic comment is external to the personages and prevents the author from ever becoming one of them ; so that his plays lack dramatic life, and are remembered because, like the *Trato de Argel*, they reflect the author's experiences, or in the *Numancia* express his fervent patriotism. Only in short sketches of type (*entremeses*) is Cervantes happy, as he usually is, like Velázquez, when his eye rests on the living model. In the *Novelas Ejemplares* (1613) the two principles lie disjoined ; some pieces belong wholly to the Italianate convention, and are excellent only in fleeting moments of direct observation of fact, while in others observation predominates, giving rise to those admirable short tales, *Rinconete y Cortadillo* and the *Coloquio de los Perros*. The *Licenciado Vidriera* is of peculiar interest, since it adopts the device for putting the critic of reality into a state of mental abnormality, thus serving as a preliminary study, among many others, for the great masterpiece of Spanish literature. In *Don Quixote*, the real and the ideal are at grips with each other everywhere throughout the novel, optimism is criticized by fact, and reality is criticized by the ideal. It is the optimistic and the ideal which is the master, the real which must necessarily serve, and in this way Sancho Panza and Don Quixote express the whole spiritual conflict of their creator's soul, their age, and human aspirations as a whole.

As first planned, the *Don Quixote* (1605) seems to have been no more than an exemplary novel similar to the *Vidriera* and contrasting with fact those ideals of chivalric romance which are expressed in the ballad cycle of the Marquis of Mantua. With the entry of Sancho Panza into the story and the scrutiny of the hero's library of chivalric romances, the true matter of the book begins ; but though, from that moment, *Don Quixote* is primarily a satire on novels of chivalry, the influence of Caro-

lingian ballads is only second to that of *Amadís* throughout the book. The first part differs from the second (1615) in the evidence it affords of Cervantes' lack of technical assurance, which leads him to diversify his history with extraneous matter in more conventional moulds, such as the exemplary novel of *El curioso impertinente*, the pastoral of Grisóstomo, and the artificial romance of amatory adventure which bulks so largely in the latter half of the first part: whereas in the second the story is wholly concerned with Sancho and his master. Both parts received less scrupulous revision of style than did the relatively insignificant *Galatea* (1585), but there is little that even hypercriticism can object to the second until, in the fifty-ninth chapter, the conclusion is abruptly hastened by receipt of Avellaneda's spurious and malignant continuation of the original novel (1614). This technical insecurity becomes, however, one of the leading merits of the tale, if to it we owe the changing character of the protagonists, who, as they gradually know each other better and as their author becomes better acquainted with them, actually evolve and live from page to page, until the realist is not far from dreams and Don Quixote dies at the touch of disillusioned sanity. Much of Cervantes' finest writing is to be found scattered in his prologues, especially in the introductions to the *Novelas Ejemplares* and the *Ocho Comedias*, along with the appendix to his *Parnaso*. As for the celebrated prologue to the *Persiles*, there is nothing in all his writings, not even the scene beside Don Quixote's death-bed, to equal it in its whimsical courage before the face of death, its irony without bitterness, and its optimistic faith in the world's eternal youth.

The marvellous year 1492 is also the starting-point for the development of the Spanish *comedia*, as it is the date of Juan del Encina's (? 1469–? 1529) first experiments, which were issued with later efforts in his *Cancionero* (1496). The eight slight Vergilian eclogues in this collection performed the service of secularizing the dramatic *genre*, and were so adapted to simple representation that they rapidly acquired popularity. Encina avoids dramatic situation, and stages only a simple colloquy followed by the announcement of some festival such as the Nativity; but there is an implied contrast to the naïve jocularity of his shepherds in the actual politeness of the courtiers who acted or witnessed the pieces, and this contrast of the bucolic and the urbane intrudes even into the action. Later editions of his *Cancionero* carry with them sentimental love-stories of Italian origin in loosely juxtaposed scenes with others of comic relief.

But though these works represent an advance in Encina's own technique, they are of less service to dramatic development than his elementary pastoral dialogues. These it was that influenced the genius of Gil Vicente (*c.* 1465–*c.* 1536) to produce similar entertainments for the Court of King Manuel the Fortunate, at first in Castilian, which was the language of that Court. But from a very early moment Vicente adopts a bolder and more vivid manner of characterization than that of Encina and a more dramatic division of the dialogue. His was a singularly rapid intellectual development, despite extreme paucity of resources. He had no stage and no actors, but only an audience of courtiers clamouring for simple entertainment and an opportunity to parade such spontaneous talent as they might possess. There was nothing to encourage artistic construction, psychological depth, or careful style, and every temptation to improvisation, caricature and display. Vicente is not incapable of constructing a careful plot; in fact, in the *Farsa de Inés Pereira* he tells as regular a story, entirely of his own invention, as his scanty resources allow. But he does not rely on plot, which with him usually consists of a dexterously contrasted succession of the episodes. On the other hand, he makes the utmost possible use of character in the form of recognizable types, which he endows with such vitality, like those of Chaucer, that he is the creator of more figures who have a life apart from their context than any other Peninsular dramatist. His Inés Pereira, Aires Rosado, Beira magistrate, Frey Paço, Mofina Mendes, etc., are recognizable wherever they are met, in a way that the Lisardos and Ciprianos of the later drama are not. He stages all the varieties of trade and calling, real or unreal, human or superhuman, from the fish-wives of Lisbon to popes and archangels, usually adding felicitous touches of characterizing to each. In diction Vicente is neither finished nor polished; but he is amazingly copious, a master of all shades of dialect, and, above all, a lyrical poet of the most delicate sensitiveness to popular melody. The merits of the third founder of the *comedia*, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, are more formal. His *Propalladia* (1517) anticipates many of the principal traits of the drama that was to be: it has romantic comedy and comedy of middle-class intrigue, it stages typical figures from hero and heroine, through heavy father, down to the sarcastic lacquey. His plays are divided into acts, though he chooses five rather than three; and he recognizes the need for comic relief in the Calderonian manner of parody by sub-plot.

The middle years of the sixteenth century added to dramatic

resources regular companies of professional players, and the *entremeses* and playlets in prose which Lope de Rueda used for his tours are a considerable advance in professional technique, and determined the list of comic types used for the humorous element of subsequent plays. A little later, in the last quarter of the century, the establishment of the Court at Madrid and that of fixed theatres to amuse the Court led to the rapid advancement of the dramatic art, which now only lacked scenic contrivances, these being advantageously supplied by poetic description. The other service of these decades was to decide the Aristotelian question. Pressure came from the side of Portugal, where Antonio Ferreira's *Castro* was, if not a drama, a dramatic poem of rare dignity written within the supposed laws of Aristotle. This was adapted in the Castilian of Jerónimo Bermúdez (1577), and at once aroused interest. Senecan tragedy proved, however, to be no more than an uninteresting holocaust, and Plautine comedy was not distinguishable from that of Lope de Rueda. It followed that none of the Spanish Aristotelians were able to adopt the whole Aristotelian convention, but that all compromised more or less with popular sentiment, notably in the case of Juan de la Cueva (? 1550–? 1610) whose plays (1579–1583) were among the first to draw on the rich dramatic material in the ballads, and to use that variety of metres which became characteristic of the *comedia*.

In Portugal the drama did not have the support of a public or body of artists dramatically trained. The school of Gil Vicente sank to boorish improvisation and was driven from the Court. Antonio Ferreira's classicism produced not a drama but a narrative poem in dialogue, which formed no school. Camões has three highly interesting pieces, which show him under the influence of both popular and classical schools ; but they are early works, mere parerga in which the poet did not persist. Similarly Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos' admirable imitations of the style of the *Celestina*, his *Eufrosina* and *Aulegrafia*, were not technically capable of representation. It followed that, despite Gil Vicente, no school of dramatists flourished in Lisbon ; which leant in this respect, as in certain others, on the Court at Madrid.

It thus happened that all the materials of the future drama had been brought severally into existence before the advent of Lope Félix de Vega Carpio (1562–1635) ; yet the *comedia* is his exclusive creation. Only those proceedings which he adopted passed on to his contemporaries and successors, and nowhere else before him were they to be found in harmonious

union. There is little vacillation in his work during all his life, and owing to the difficulties that beset the study of so multifarious a genius it is difficult even to suggest a line of development in his art. He proclaimed public approval to be the canon of his work, to which he was willing to deny the title of art out of deference to Aristotelian criticism. Vacillating in theory, he follows one steady policy in practice, based on his persistent observation of the plaudits of his public, not only in his own plays but also in those of others. He reduces the motivation of action to one cause: love. That is the mainspring that sets his wheels working, whether in tragedy or comedy, and in combination with whatever other motives. Character he does not study, and his personages have no life outside their context: but they have sufficient for that context, and react swiftly to the variations in emotional temperature, thus living an intense existence for the moment. He refuses to distinguish comedy from pure tragedy; all his plays are mixed, and called, for short, *comedias*; but there are those which tend towards gravity (*heroicas*) and those which deal with mundane humours (*capa y espada*), so that the inevitable distinction of types is substantially the same. His introductions are among the most skilful in all dramatic literature, as he laid himself out to reconcile the goodwill of the public from the start of the piece; the action is rapid and often complicated, divided by effective curtains, though occasionally the complications are unscrupulous; the solutions are always unforeseen, and delayed until the last hundred lines of the play, which, however, is too late for them to be submitted to criticism as to their artistic qualities. In diction, the *comedia* employed the whole prosody for the expression of emotional changes, often of very slight nature. It is not based on the octosyllabic quatrain, though that is the usual metre of dialogue; but on the whole native and Italianate scheme of metres, from the hexasyllables of its laments to the *terza rima* and octaves of heroic description.

In the criticism of Lope de Vega the conception of number is essential. He has no perfect play: but among extant plays alone, without taking into account his extant lyrics, novels, epics, etc., there are *numerically* ten Shakespeares, whose general *average of merit* is above that of Beaumont and Fletcher. So enormous a mass of works, all dramatically suitable and of very high average literary merit, could not but mould the opinions of his contemporaries by sheer weight as well as by artistic pre-eminence; and we know titles to the number of over seven hundred, while the poet's admirers claimed for him eighteen

hundred plays! These can only be described here by classes, and the classification cannot be altogether precise. There are a few *autos* and minor pieces which do not call for special attention. In Divine and Biblical plays Lope suffered from scrupulous attention to his models, which were frequently more miraculous and fantastical or more disjointed in their narration than was suitable for the stage (*El Cardenal de Belén*). He rises to his full stature in those heroic plays which dealt with national history, either in the bucolic charm of its primitive epochs (*Los Téllez de Meneses*), or in the turbulent insolence of the nobility during the later Middle Ages (*El infanzón de Illescas, Peribáñez,* etc.). Everywhere Lope is epic in his manner, so that these are similar to Shakespearian 'histories', which degenerate into chronicles as he deals with the affairs of his own time, through excess of data. Foreign and classical history he treats with violence, considering it as the proper province of the marvellous and incredible. In adapting novelistic matter to his own ends his success is various, and is most noted when he can bend his source into conformity with his style in bourgeois comedy (*El Anzuelo de Fenisa*). In middle-class intrigue (*capa y espada*) the stress may be laid on the plot (*El Acero de Madrid*), on the customs (*El Perro del Hortelano*), on character or on one peculiar character (*Los Melindres de Belisa*), etc. As social documents this part of Lope's repertory is not wholly reliable owing to the strong influence upon it of conditions that make for Terentian comedy, and because Lope has erected certain convenient exceptions in ordinary society into the norms of his convention. In these plays Lope is a supreme master of the art of representation, skilful in intrigue within a limited number of types of plot, various in portraiture within general data, with situations that always recur and yet never quite repeat themselves, complex actions leading to unsuspected endings, though these endings are nearly always in the form of marriages all round the stage, and in and through it all brilliant wit and invention expressed through an intentional mediocrity.

Among the contemporaries of Lope de Vega, three can only with difficulty be distinguished from the master: Mira de Mescua (*c.* 1577–1644), Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579–1644) and Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1602–1638). The former is celebrated for the originality of his work at a time when to borrow was no offence; the second has almost no comic repertory, but excels in heroic plays (*Reinar después de Morir*) and in his attentiveness to popular music (*La Serrana de la Vera*), while he was also, apart from his gifts as a novelist (*El Diablo Cojuelo*), the

most celebrated wit of his age; as for the third, he was the son of Lope's bookseller, and wore himself out at an early age through attempting to rival the spontaneity of his master. Special mention must be made of Pedro de Cárdenas y Angulo, author of the most purely tragic piece on the Spanish stage, *La Estrella de Sevilla*, a work long attributed to Lope de Vega and, in its conception, equal to his best. Very close to Lope de Vega stands his friend Guillén de Castro y Bellvis (1569–1631), author of the *Mocedades del Cid*, from which Corneille drew the plot and language and characters of the first successful tragedy on the French classical stage. Guillén de Castro drew heavily in this as in other *comedias* from the treasures of dramatic situation and characterization offered by the *Romancero*, and his work takes on, like that of Lope's historical plays, a markedly epic tone, which somewhat impairs the dramatic effect by detracting from its concentration. He is somewhat obsessed with matrimonial infelicities and the casuistry of a cavalier's code of honour, but has some excellent comedies *de capa y espada* (*El Narciso en su Opinión*).

The two greatest figures in Lope's entourage are those of 'Tirso de Molina' (Gabriel Téllez, ? 1584–1648) and Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (? 1580–1639), who, in adopting the technique of the *comedia* in its entirety, carry it out with a high degree of independence. Tirso de Molina is at once one of the most original of Spanish dramatists in his invention of plots, and one of the least varied in manner. His situations are wont to reduce themselves to the activities of a manlike woman or women, contesting with passionate self-abandon for the possession of a lukewarm or averse youth (*Mari-Hernández la Gallega*). He carries his demand for artistic liberty to the point of caprice, making a mock of his readers, his characters, his art, and himself, constructs with supreme disregard of form, and relies on brilliant impressionism. He is rich in vocabulary, and his lines are strong and full of colour, virile in comparison with the effeminacy of Lope's genius, while his witticisms are among the boldest in their malign intention, and flow without stint. As the creator of Don Juan (*El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra*) he is the maker of the third among the national types of Spanish manhood, alongside the Cid and Don Quixote, and of that character which has gained most imitators abroad. There is profound theological purpose in that play as is indicated by the sub-title (addressed by Don Juan to the Deity) 'tan largo me lo fiáis', and this same theological competence is shown in his play on free-will and illimitable grace, *El Condenado por Desconfiado*.

In *La Prudencia en la Mujer* he found a congenial story of manlike policy in a woman, and in *El Vergonzoso en Palacio* womanlike bashfulness in a man.

In Tirso's manner of construction caprice plays a prominent part; in Alarcón all is subordinated to moral formula. In his characteristic work Alarcón held the doctrine, later to become official in France, that the aim of comedy was the purgation of social failings through ridicule, and he works out his thesis with greater logic than that of Molière's plots, so that the vice inevitably leads to its punishment. Such vices are habitual deceit (*La Verdad Sospechosa*), slander (*Las Paredes oyen*), interested counsel, vulgarism, etc. Admirable as the logic of these pieces may be, it must be admitted that they unnecessarily limit the scope of imagination, both in plot and in diction. But they wear better than the more gifted works of Lope, Tirso or Calderón, as they contain infinitely fewer exhibitions of bad taste or instances of slovenly workmanship. They have also exercised a notable influence in France, where the first-named supplied the plot of Corneille's inferior *Le Menteur*, and have always been read with satisfaction by French critics who recognize the similarity of Alarcón's comic doctrine to their own.

Between the beginning of Lope's dramatic activity and the death of Calderón a bare century is included, so that the successive generations or 'schools' of dramatists overlap and are in part contemporaries. Their distinction can, therefore, only be expressed in an approximate manner. In the second period plays show the influence of the growing resources of theatrical decoration, called by Lope 'carpentry', and mechanical contrivances tend to take the place of a truly dramatic sequence of scenes. Lay figures proportionately increase on the stage and the action falls more rigidly within preconceived limits. There is a notable diminution of originality which is paralleled by the growth of the practice of refunding old plays; and the types of play used by the dramatists become less numerous, until among the last writers the *comedia* is successful almost solely in comedies of humours (*figurón*). The plaudit-winning devices of soliloquies and set speeches are exaggerated, so that in Calderón both the initial situation and the crisis of action are often covered by lengthy harangues, while others are inserted here and there on the slightest provocation—a royal procession or a recent victory or a change of fashion or a humorous conception. We have to remember, of course, that the drama was the omnibus literature of the age, and was not distant at times

from journalism. In respect of diction, the proper use of the *pie de romance* as a narrative metre being lost, set speeches are relegated not infrequently to metres drawn from the Italian prosody, and in Calderón this combines with his gifts as a lyrist to produce an especially altisonant and lyrical type of evolution in the drama.

The transition between the two 'schools' is covered by Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla (1607–1648), whose fame should be based on his comedies of intrigue, such as *Entre Bobos anda el Juego*, were it not for the overwhelming merit of his *Del Rey abajo, ninguno*, which is the most complete representation in Castilian literature of the dignity and honour of the yeoman in face of the exactions of the nobility. It is a type of play which much appealed to Lope de Vega, and with him is normal when treating of Peter the Cruel, 'el Justiciero'. Rojas Zorrilla's contemporary Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) is, outside Spain, the most quoted name of the Spanish *comedia*, and, in respect of the plays for which he is so quoted, well deserves the commendation. Lope is the greater, more original, more humane genius; but his accessibility to every impression leaves him a little devoid of strongly personal traits. Calderón's genius is imitative, mechanical, but also marked by certain definite excellences. Where the two combine their advantages, as in Lope's *Alcalde de Zalamea* refunded by Calderón, we have the broad sympathy and lively characterization of the one perfected by the technique and lyric urge of the other, so as to produce the finest drama of human content, perhaps, in all the range of the *comedia*. But that play is exceptional in Calderón. His European repute depends on a small group of so-called 'philosophical' plays—*La Vida es Sueño, El Príncipe constante, El Mágico prodigioso, La Devoción de la Cruz*—which captured the homage of German Romantic critics and of Shelley. These plays are not deeper in their thought than similar plays by Tirso de Molina which have achieved no great renown beyond the Spanish frontier, and their reputation does in part depend on the ignorance of their foreign readers, who seriously misread their original; as when Shelley reads his own wild revolt into a Satan whom Calderón conceived, nobly indeed, but in strict conformity with dogma. Calderón is not a philosopher but a casuist. He urges his case, however, with such lyrical force, in such clangorous and metallic verse and with such sweep of fancy as to transcend the limitations of language and to produce profound impressions even on those who know little of the refinements of the Castilian speech. His casuistry appears in his treatment of honour (*El Médico de*

su Honra, El Pintor de su Deshonra, A secreto Agravio secreta Venganza); whereas Lope and other dramatists are concerned to know whether honour extends downward beneath the privileged classes, Calderón is mainly bent on determining the minimum cause for action in defence of one's honour and the most secret manner of carrying it out. Of his comedies of intrigue a generic description has already been given; his limitations being once admitted, he can be read with pleasure for his extreme technical dexterity and variety of resource (*La Dama Duende, Casa con dos Puertas*). In mythological comedies his skill in 'carpentry' and his lyrical genius shine forth (*Púrpura de la Rosa*), but he is nowhere quite so much himself as in his sacramental *autos*, variations on the one identical theme of the mystery of the Sacrament, in which an argument in verse and dialogue starts from any premiss—a royal hunt, a parable, a supposed natural law—and seems to advance inevitably to the one edifying conclusion. These plays are not great as theology, for Calderón was addressing only the general public and from it he need fear no contradiction; but they are superb casuistry, surrounded with the pomp and splendour of lyrical genius and presented with a wealth of allegorical apparatus, calculated to produce, after a day of religious emotion, an effect such as can hardly be recovered.

With Agustín Moreto y Cabaña (1618–1669), who died before Calderón, we are already in the decadence. Moreto invents nothing, and of that which he imitates and refunds only one type is successful, namely, his comedies of customs. But in these he is admirable, and is evidence of the advantages which the greater poets might have gained for themselves had they consented to regard their productions as an art. In character-study, in diction, in wit, in study of manners, Moreto usually improves his originals, and few *comedias* can be read with the same sympathy and pleasure as his *Lindo don Diego, El Desdén con el Desdén, No puede ser*, and others. In the second rank we find redactors, such as Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón, who add to their lack of invention a tendency towards violence in construction and pedantic pomp of style. In them gongorism works its way through Spanish verse, corrupting it to the core. The dramatic manner of Lope's school and Calderón's persisted as far as the mid-point of the eighteenth century, and so almost reached the beginnings of modern drama; but even before the death of Calderón its inspiration was dead, and its convulsions indicated the progress of its decay, as style lost meaning through excessive strain, and the various Lopean types of comedy successively withered away.

CHAPTER V

SPANISH LITERATURE SINCE 1681

VI. The Eighteenth Century

THE death in 1681 of Calderón, a writer active almost to the end of his long life, revealed only too clearly the pitiable weakness which had succeeded the phenomenal fertility of the Golden Age and left Spain without a single writer of first-rate ability. Góngora and the Argensolas, Quevedo and Gracián, Rojas Zorrilla and Moreto, had long since passed away. The once resplendent drama was in the hands of the redactors—not to say plagiarists—mentioned at the end of the last chapter: such were the Portuguese Matos Fragoso, Antonio de Solís, Juan Bautista Diamante. Poetry was practically extinct, and the prose of living writers was for the most part undistinguished. That the robust spirituality of the sixteenth-century mystics should have given place to the enervating quietism of Miguel de Molinos is symptomatic of the decadence which was as manifest in literature as in religion, politics and society.

It is nevertheless too common a misconception that the eighteenth century as a whole in Spain was a barren period in literature. True, neither the eighteenth century nor the nineteenth reached the heights of the age which preceded them, and in the earlier of the two prose took precedence of quality as verse did in the later. But the period of real sterility, which was pronounced enough while it lasted, extends rather from about 1680 to 1750: the second half of the eighteenth century was steadily, if unconsciously, preparing the way for the revival of Romanticism. Nor was even the reign of Philip V without its significance for Spanish literature. Did it matter that French fiction and French philosophy were as current in Spain as French fashions, if the ground lying fallow after its late glorious harvest was receiving intellectually such constant attention? The creation of the National Library (1711), the foundation of the Royal Spanish Academy (1714), of the Academy of History (1738), and of the Academy of Fine Arts (1752), the production of the

great Academy Dictionary (1726–1739) are all events of a significance which is heightened and expanded by the rise of periodical literature and the publication of important bibliographical volumes like Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca hispana*. It is not lack of culture that makes these seventy years unfruitful, but an exhaustion, perfectly natural in the circumstances, which the most abundant culture could not overcome immediately. Creative literature, in this period, is almost non-existent, while criticism is misdirected by forces which are largely reactive.

Poetry hardly re-emerges. There are graceful lines in the output of the uninspired *capitán coplero*, Gerardo Lobo, and Torres Villarroel, better known for his picaresque autobiography, has as a versifier a certain interest of curiosity. But it seems hard to believe that Lobo was once acclaimed ' Prince of wits ', that he was seriously compared with Vergil, Horace and Ovid, and that, as one contemporary said, ' his praise resided in his very name '. Dramatic activity is concentrated in the imitation of Cornelian tragedy and typified by the *Virginia* (1750) and *Ataulfo* (1753) of Agustín de Montiano. Prose, of its kind, has more merit. The Benedictine, Fray Benito Jerónimo Feyjóo, in spite of his gallicized manner and his unhappily warped sympathies, is held in genuine respect, not only for the encyclopædism of the *Teatro crítico universal* (1726–1739) and the *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (1742–1760), but for his bold proclamation of his convictions—as behoved a ' free citizen of the republic of letters '—and the scientific spirit in which he often examined matters of which he had little knowledge. Gregorio Mayans is a more purely literary critic, now discredited, who wrote the first biography of Cervantes, edited Vives, Luis de León and Juan de Valdés, publishing Valdés' *Diálogo de la lengua* in his *Orígenes de la lengua castellana* (1737). These two writers, as much for their superb self-sufficiency as for the nature of their contributions to literature, are typical of the prose-writers of their day.

Much of the literary criticism of the early eighteenth century is embodied in the *Poética* (1737) of Ignacio de Luzán (1702–1754), a classical scholar, with a wide knowledge of France and Italy, who had a genuine desire to educate his own country in the canons of good taste. It was in no spirit of servility or flattery to the French that he sought to lead his countrymen into the bondage of preceptists like Boileau, or, as he puts it, ' to restore the use of the rules and so to rejuvenate Spanish poetry and carry it to such a pitch of perfection that we shall no longer need to envy other nations'. That rejuvenation could be produced by rule could only be taught by one with a pedestrian

conception of poetry such as in fact we can read in the frigid eloquence of his own compositions. The *Poética*, which aspires to being 'complete, exact and perfect', is planned on a broad scale, discussing, first, the origins and history of poetry, then the pleasure and profit which it may bring, and finally, the nature in turn of dramatic and of epic poetry. Luzán recognizes freely the genius of Lope and Calderón—especially the latter,[1]—though he is rather too generous, by comparison, to Rojas Zorrilla, Moreto and Solís. Nevertheless, he considers the drama of the Golden Age barbarous and unenlightened, and the *auto sacramental*, as a *genre*, irreverent to the verge of profanity. The aim of drama, as of all poetry, is to him purely moral. The way to write a play is to build it up on some 'moral point', fashion it to the rigid pattern of the Unities,—in regard to these Luzán is stricter than Aristotle—and prune it of all barbarities of the age now past. Like Boileau, he repudiates tragi-comedy, but, unlike him, he admits the supernatural machinery of Christianity and the 'son dur et bizarre'. Blank verse he prefers to rhyme, and against the slavish imitation of the classics which he recommends must be placed to his credit an insistence on verisimilitude and local colour.

Like Feyjóo in another sphere, Luzán was vehemently censured for his theories, which were held to be considerably more indebted to Boileau than they actually were. This misjudgment has persisted in later days. The editors of the celebrated quarterly *Diario de los Literatos de España* (1737–1738, 1742), although they were in partial agreement with Luzán's position, attacked the *Poética* vehemently. Its strictures upon Lope and Calderón they felt to be over-severe; even its condemnation of Góngora, though justifiable in the main, they thought to have passed proper limits. Tragi-comedy and the use of prose in drama they upheld against him and they demanded a relaxation of his rigid rules. But Luzán was soon joined by others. 'Jorge Pitillas' (Gerardo de Hervas) satirized, in caustic tercets, and in the *Diario* itself, 'the bad writers of this age', while after the short life of the critics' organ was ended, Luis Josef Velázquez carried on Luzán's work in his *Orígenes de la poesía castellana* (1754). Whatever the effect of the *Poética* may have been on the reputations of Lope and Calderón, it certainly had the effect of condemning their uninspired successors. But the times were completely awry. The 'Academy of Good Taste' (1749–1751), which met twice weekly at the

[1] This is considerably less true of the second (revised and posthumous) edition of the *Poética*, Madrid, 1789.

house of a noble lady in something after the manner of a seventeenth-century French *salon*, must have had some curious notions concerning the nature of its ideal: Montiano, who with Velázquez, was among its members, had invented a fourth Unity; Blas Antonio Nasarre had republished Avellaneda's *Don Quijote*, as being better worth reading than the second part of Cervantes'. And though Nasarre to-day is unreadable, Velázquez wrote of his language, in some complimentary verses, that 'should the gods hear it, they will straightway desire to speak Castilian'! These men were prominent among Luzán's supporters; and unhappily, by their own examples and by their exaggeration of his precepts, they brought his name into disrepute. After Luzán's death, the work of the unofficial Academy was continued at the Fonda de San Sebastián, a Madrid restaurant, by a number of writers interested chiefly in the drama. The best of them, Nicolás Fernández de Moratín (1737–1780), was a Romantic born out of due time,—a poet in his inmost soul, but no dramatist, and a misguided enthusiast in his opposition to the Golden Age. His gallicized play *Hormesinda* (1770) failed completely, and two earlier efforts, *La Petimetra*, and *Lucrecia*, were not even produced. Better than these are his ballads, above all the well-known *Fiesta de toros en Madrid*.

We are now in mid-century, and find destructive criticism slowly giving place to a new creative spirit. In the drama, it is true, Moratín's friend José Clavijo enjoyed a prolonged success, both in the review *El Pensador*, of which he himself wrote the whole, and still more in his campaign against the *autos sacramentales*, which in 1765 were prohibited by decree. In the following year all plays by Lope, Tirso and Calderón were forbidden, and translations from French drama were in their stead given official approval. Later than this, the most notable plays of the Golden Age were 're-written', with dreadful results. It was preferable to neglect them, as García de la Huerta did in his *Teatro Español* (1785–1786), which consists of sixteen volumes and includes no Lope, Tirso or Ruiz de Alarcón.

Life came into the drama from quite another direction than regular comedy and tragedy. It was Ramón de la Cruz (1731–1794) who, after a false start as a Gallicist, conceived the idea of reproducing the present, while delving deeply in the past, going farther back even than Lope de Vega, and specializing in the one-act play or *sainete*. So the translator of Ducis' version of *Hamlet* became the re-introducer into Spain of the *paso* and *entremés*. In his series of dramatic sketches his originality is seen to go far beyond the adaptation of a single *genre*. Some

of them are comedies in little; others are simply pictures of contemporary customs; others, again, are skits on those pseudo-classical tragedies which so many were writing at the time but so few could write successfully. Ramón de la Cruz had no great gift of invention, but he was a heaven-sent adapter and reproducer. His *Teatro o colección de los sainetes y demás obras dramáticas* (1786–1791) has been described as 'a huge whispering gallery where you hear all the political and social gossip of the day: all the middle and lower classes of Madrid flit past you, in a vivid and picturesque panorama, light-hearted, careless, full of impertinent grace and wit. It is the drama of the out-at-elbows, the romance of the hard-up, but nobody whines and everybody bubbles over with the sheer joy of life.'[1] It is indeed a joy, after so many years of such monotony, to come again to dramas of which it is possible to use words like these.

Juan Ignacio González del Castillo (1763–1800), an Andalusian, carried on the tradition of Cruz, and in too brief a period of activity produced plays which in most respects rivalled those of his master, are read by many with even greater pleasure, and bear sufficient marks of a striking and dissimilar personality to suggest a promise of greater things, unhappily cut short by death. Both authors are highly individual: Cruz is the better *sainetero*; Castillo is the finer artist and the greater poet.

But when Castillo was starting to write, a no less original and outstanding dramatist was already at work in a more conventional field of comedy. Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760–1828), son of Nicolás, was, though less of a poet than his father, a far better dramatist. Leaving the overworked field of tragedy, he followed in the steps of Molière and Goldoni, and so nearly akin were his gifts to those of Molière that he succeeded in transplanting, not his actual plays (though he did produce versions of some of these), but a surprising portion of the spirit which lay beneath them. *El Viejo y la Niña* (1790), *La Comedia Nueva* (1792), and *El Sí de las Niñas* (1806), his best comedies, are in plot and dialogue the equals of anything of the kind produced in France: if they lack much of Molière's skill in characterization, and have scarcely a touch of his 'high seriousness', they stand out nevertheless as among the greatest Spanish plays of their century.

Imaginative prose is but little in evidence till it revives with the dawn of Romanticism. The picaresque strain in the novel, which had found a curiously perverted expression in Torres Villarroel, reappears in the *Historia del famoso predicador Fray*

[1] James Fitzmaurice-Kelly: *New History of Spanish Literature*, p. 418.

Gerundio de Campazas (1758) of José Francisco de Isla (1703–1781). Isla, a Jesuit banished from Spain in 1767 with his Order, was a satirist of no mean ability who endeavoured to laugh away a pulpit Gongorism by relating the story of a famous (and imaginary) preacher of humble birth and describing a large number of episodes in his career. Isla is also mixed up with the picaresque novel through his translation (1781) of Lesage's *Gil Blas*, which was published posthumously, and claims that, in presenting the famous Santillanan to a Spanish public, it is 'restoring to its native land' what already belongs to it. This, as might have been seen, was both truth and fiction, but it was the signal for a controversy in Spain over the sources of *Gil Blas* which came to no very certain conclusion.

Turning now to non-dramatic poetry, which is too often associated in readers' minds with the rather lifeless versions of well-known fables made by Félix María Samaniego (1745–1801) and with Tomás de Iriarte's (1750–1791) more diverting and original *Fábulas literarias*, we find that in the second half of the eighteenth century there occurred something not unlike a renaissance. This is associated with two movements, of which the earlier and more important was initiated in Salamanca, and has come to be described, not altogether properly, as the Salamancan School. The home of Fray Luis de León was a fitting birthplace for such a movement, and, still more fittingly, its unconscious begetter was an Augustinian monk, Fray Diego Tadeo González (1733–1794) who, with two friends, formed a circle which grew in size beyond his intention and ultimately embraced most of the poets (in any real sense) of the day. Not the three friends—Delio, Liseno and Andronio, as they called themselves in the conventional nomenclature of the pastoral—were destined to be best remembered among the Salamancans, though Fray Diego drew deeply and with great effect from Fray Luis and but for his excessive reserve might have taken a higher place than that which he occupies in literature. Two University students, who joined the 'Parnassus' as Batilo and Aminta, outstripped the reputation of its originators: these were Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754–1817) and Juan Pablo Forner (1756–1797). Meléndez is perhaps the earliest poet of the century from whose lyrics one might quote freely with pleasure: from prettiness he suffers often but from prosiness never. His natural facility as a versifier he curbed with due restraint and considerable technical skill; and though, as with many of his contemporaries, his technique outran his inspiration, he fairly earned the title usually given him of chief of the School. Forner, better known as

polemist than as poet, gained the doubtful distinction of being the subject of a Royal Order—which forbade him to publish anything at all without special permission. He was a scholar deflected into satire: the verses in which he excelled were all satiric and vehement to a degree; and he leads us to surroundings far from the imaginary flocks and pastures of the gentle Delio. When he and Meléndez were still at the University, a young soldier named José Cadalso (1741–1782) was stationed there. To those acquainted with his poetic output, it is no surprise that having met Fray Diego he should at once have joined the School, as Dalmiro. Cadalso had just produced the usual rhymed tragedy—a failure, like the rest—in Madrid. He now wrote his *Ocios de mi juventud*, and a prose satire, *Eruditos a la violeta*, but his two finest works are the *Cartas marruecas* (only published in 1793), a collection after the style of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, and the *Noches lúgubres* (1772), a lyrical prose elegy of great melancholy and passion. Another celebrated member of this School, appropriately dubbed Jovino, is Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811), whose strong character reacted on many of its members, though he chafed at their pastoral artificialities. Jovellanos was too much of a politician to be able to devote himself for long periods to literature, but in his *Defensa de la Junta Central* (1810) we have some of the century's best prose, and he also essayed drama. The verse which he produced, comparatively small as it is in quantity, reveals something of a poetic temperament too often latent, the influence of which can be seen in many of the poems of Meléndez Valdés.

A later group of Salamancans attains much the same degree of eminence as did the School's initiators. Almost without exception, its members foreshadow the lyrists of the coming century. José Iglesias de la Casa (1748–1791) is the exception. His serious poems may still be unearthed in libraries, but only his elegant and malicious satires live in the memory. Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos (1764–1809) is a philosophical sentimentalist who was a journalist and politician and died an exile in France after the events of 1808. Juan Nicasio Gallego (1777–1853) has many points of interest: he rises a head above most of his fellows, both in form and inspiration, and his patriotic themes are diversified by many signs that he was influenced by English literature. Greatest of all these poets, however, is Manuel José Quintana (1772–1857), whose long life embraces not only nearly one-third of the eighteenth century, but also the rise, flower and decline of Spanish Romanticism: born in

the reign of Charles III, he lived to be solemnly ' crowned ' by Isabel II.

Quintana was a pupil of Meléndez Valdés and a friend of Jovellanos ; like the latter he became a victim of political strife, after being editor of the *Semanario patriótico* and Secretary of the Junta Central. Under the *régime* of 1820 he became Director of Public Instruction, but only the death of Ferdinand VII brought him lasting tranquillity. His best known work, a series of *Vidas de españoles célebres* (1807–1833), shows him to be a conscientious historian, the master of a forcible and solid prose style, but never possessing sufficient imagination to save him from frequent dullness. In his verse he is the spokesman of the Liberals : patriotism, liberty and Gallophobia comprise the majority of his themes. At best he is capable of a rousing eloquence and a restrained and noble passion. His faults are those of the eighteenth century, in which, in spirit, he lived till his death ; but his greatest poems : ' Al combate de Trafalgar ' (1805), ' Al armamento de las provincias españolas contra los franceses ' (1808), ' A España después de la revolución de Marzo ' (1808) will hardly, in any age, be forgotten.

Although before the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century had set in, the revival of Spanish poetry by the Salamancan School seemed of greater significance than it really was, it is impossible to deny its importance : it was a Romantic who called Meléndez Valdés ' father or prince of the restored Castilian poetry '. At the turn of the century, influenced strongly by the Salamancans, a second School arose, and this—the Sevilian School—carried the torch of poetry right into the period of Romanticism. Founded in 1793, as another ' Academy of good taste ' and to vindicate the literary fame of Seville, the *Academia de letras humanas* was compelled to justify its existence by printing the poems of its principal members, which unfortunately were soon eclipsed by those of writers of more original genius. The Salamancan School, one feels, might have reacted to Romanticism more sympathetically than did the men of Seville. In spite of their tendency towards the lyricism and the melancholy of the Romantics, the Sevilians were academic to the backbone. It is sufficient to describe three of them. Alberto Lista (1775–1848), a Canon of Seville, was a prudent, conservative critic, a poet of somewhat Lamartinian inspiration, and a personality of more than usual charm. Félix José Reinoso (1772–1841) had often more of facility than of poetry, while José María Blanco (1775–1841), who went to England and took the name of Blanco White, is known principally, even in Spain, by a

sonnet written in English, 'Mysterious Night'. Other members of the School were the correct and classical Arjona, Francisco de P. Roldán, who wrote on Biblical subjects, the pedant Hermosilla and the clerical deserter Marchena. It must be added that a few poets of merit stand outside both Salamancan and Sevilian schools. Of these the chief are the Conde de Noroña, whose translations from English bring him into one of the strongest literary currents of the time; the Gaditano Vargas Ponce, author of a famous 'proclamation of a confirmed bachelor to the ladies who aspire to his hand'; Francisco de P. Núñez, an imitator of Herrera, who was closely connected with the Sevilian School, but turned against it; and Cristóbal de Beña, a political writer, who published a volume called *La lira de la libertad* while exiled in London.

VII. Romanticism and After

What Spanish Romanticism really was, and, still more, what its principal exponents and apologists understood it to be, are questions which have not yet been fully answered. Romanticism in Spain can never fairly be said to have crossed the dividing line which separates a 'movement' from a 'school'; its full possibilities were, except by an insignificant minority, never realized; and although it has profoundly influenced the whole succeeding course of Spanish literature, it only lasted, as a militant, constructive and self-conscious entity, for a period of some eight or ten years at the outside.[1]

In the literature of France, by which Spain was so strongly influenced, Romanticism was an intensely individual phenomenon, largely because it contested, not pure classical ideals, but a vicious pseudo-classicism which had held the field with tyrannical sway for a century, and had succeeded a period for the most part classical in its affinities. In Spain, it must be remembered, the Golden Age was in essentials a Romantic age, and, although for long after its passing it was under a cloud, it never fell entirely into discredit. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, past epochs in Spanish literature began to be considered barbaric no longer. Mediaeval poetry was given a new interest by Tomás Antonio Sánchez' publication, in 1779, of the *Cid*, and of other Spanish poems written before the fifteenth

[1] As these are my own views and not wholly identical with those commonly taught, I must refer the reader for my justification of them to *Modern Language Review*, XV, pp. 374–391; XVI, 281–296; XVIII, 37–50; XXI, 44–54, and *El Romanticismo en España*, Santander: Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo, 1924–5.

century; Martín Sarmientos' unfinished *Historia de la poesía y poetas españoles* (1775) devotes much space to discussions of the oldest poetry of Spain. Hence, though one aspect of Spanish Romanticism is that of revolt against pseudo-classicism, which came to Spain by way of France, late in time, and greatly tempered in intensity, a more important aspect is the less noticeable one of a slow but sure revival of Spain's Romantic past, a revival which began far back in the eighteenth century, and, gradually gathering force, reached its fullness in the thirties of the nineteenth.

The political happenings between 1808 and 1833 outlined in another chapter affected both these developments, though rather dissimilarly. The revival of Romanticism was perhaps affected the less. Through all the turmoil of these years, and in spite of their wars and revolutions, the periodical Press, now firmly established (though sometimes temporarily suppressed), dealt faithfully, if spasmodically, with literature. The first period of Ferdinand's absolutism (1814–1820) corresponded almost exactly with that of a protracted and significant literary dispute between the German Böhl de Faber and José Joaquín de Mora, which turned largely on the merits of Calderón. The year 1823 saw the foundation at Barcelona of a literary review called *El Europeo*, which rendered its readers the double service of introducing to them foreign Romantics and of discussing Romanticism in its relation to the earlier literature of Spain. The *Romancero* of Agustín Durán (1793–1862) began to appear in 1828, which year saw also his famous *Discurso* on ' the influence of modern criticism on the decadence of the old Spanish drama ' ; in 1832 was published his collection of historical and chivalric romances anterior to the eighteenth century, with its no less famous preface. In creative literature, to take but one example, the Catalan Manuel de Cabanyes (1808–1833) was writing during the latter years of Ferdinand VII's reign and produced his *Preludios de mi lira* in 1833. All these years saw Spain in the throes of unrest, yet they were years of real literary progress.

At the same time we cannot doubt that in an epoch of peace and prosperity the progress would have been greater and more rapid, especially since a number of those who became Spain's greatest Romantics were Liberals suffering exile in France and England. Here, in the intervals of writing and teaching to gain the barest livelihood, they imbibed the principles of English and French Romanticism, and, when the death of Ferdinand permitted their return to Spain, brought these principles with them, and initiated what, for want of a better name, must be called the

Romantic revolt. At home, too, the 'revolt' had been maturing. A literary *coterie* which began to meet in Madrid in 1827 included Romantics as pronounced as Larra, Escosura and Ventura de la Vega; a second and more turbulent one met in 1829–1830, and the dissolution of this led to the formation, at the Café del Príncipe, of the celebrated Parnasillo, which included all the leading Romantics who were not in exile—Larra, Escosura, Espronceda, Ochoa, Salas y Quiroga and many more.

When, after the death of Ferdinand, the Liberals returned to Spain, and inevitably, at one and the same moment, the Romantic revolt broke out and the Romantic revival realized itself, there were certain characteristics generally recognized as being inherent in the double movement which may be considered to constitute Spanish Romanticism. On the positive side, this signified a return to such literature of past ages as evoked the Romantics' sympathy. In particular, it meant a renewed interest in the mediaeval romances and the drama of the Golden Age; and secondarily the popularity of 'Ossian', Southey, Scott, Chateaubriand, Hugo and other foreign writers who stood for some or other of the Romantics' ideals. On the negative side, there was a general antipathy to classical mythology and also to classical literature and literary theory; a tendency to throw off all restraint; and the corresponding proclamation of liberalism in art. So much may fairly be described as the essentials of Spanish Romanticism. In addition, many of the Spanish Romantics exhibit in greater or less degree traits which some critics consider characteristic, while others do not. There is a delight in local colour and a turning for it towards the East and especially towards Islamic civilization; a predilection for what is melancholy, pathetic, funereal, gloomy and even morbid; an insistence on the disillusion (*desengaño*) to be found in life, which is frequently and loosely called pessimism; a disinclination to be wholly grave or wholly gay and a consequent return to the principle of tragi-comedy; an affected sentimentality; a love of the vague, unformed and unfinished; and a delight, for its own sake, in the ugly and grotesque.

The biographies of the principal Romantic authors of this time will show how short-lived in Spain was the movement which they represented, and at the same time how lasting in its effects was the evolutionary process upon which their innovations were superimposed. What the Romantics chiefly lacked was a leader. Two possible leaders died young: Mariano José de Larra, or 'Fígaro' (1809–1837), whose satirical essays are strongly imbued with *mal*

du siècle and whose one historical novel (*El Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente*) shows much future promise, and José de Espronceda (1808–1842), a Byronic poet of great power who wore out much of his life in exile but will always be remembered for his *Estudiante de Salamanca* and *Diablo Mundo* (1840–1841). The politician Francisco Martínez de la Rosa (1787–1862) began life as a Classicist and later followed other prevailing modes: his prose drama *La Conjuración de Venecia* (1834), for all its immediate success, was nothing more than a single topical incident in his long career. For a time it seemed as though the necessary leader might have been found in Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas (1791–1865), who had certainly all the qualities which fitted him for that position. As a Liberal exile, he lived, before succeeding to his title, in England, Malta and France; and when he returned to Spain under the amnesty his *Don Álvaro* (1835), the best play of the period, became in a mild way the Spanish *Hernani*. But, alas, between his return and the production of *Don Álvaro*, Angel de Saavedra had become the Duque de Rivas, and he now turned politician, diplomat and *grand seigneur*. Further, it is indisputable that his true genius lay, not in drama, but in the verse romance; his *Moro Expósito* (1834) had been a notable contribution to the revival of Spanish legendry; and as he grew older he moved ever farther from France and nearer to mediaeval and sixteenth-century Spain. His *Romances históricos* (1841) and *Leyendas* (1854), which form the principal testimony to this change of direction, are vastly superior to his latest plays. When Rivas died, he was acclaimed as the 'grand old man' of Spanish letters, but he had only once in his life stood out as a Romantic leader. Even what might have been the important preface to his *Moro Expósito* was the work of his friend Alcalá Galiano.

Three dramas almost contemporary with *Don Álvaro* fall not far short of it in merit. *El Trovador* (1836), by Antonio García Gutiérrez (1813–1884), was the youthful success of an author whose talent spent itself later, for the most part in melodrama. Antonio Gil y Zárate's (1793–1861) *Carlos II el Hechizado* (1837) was the work of one who was no Romantic at heart but an eclectic. *Los Amantes de Teruel* (1837) brought credit to its author, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (1806–1880), but Hartzenbusch, who was primarily a scholar, became director of Spain's National Library and won the gratitude of students the world over, not by his original works so much as by his editions of classical authors.

Only one figure is left which stands out among the Romantics, that of José Zorrilla (1817–1893). Two reasons prevented his

taking the leadership: first, he was born ten years too late, so that, when he began to write, the primary enthusiasm for Romanticism had already passed: secondly, he was always more interested in the actual work of art than in the principles underlying it. Coming into the full inheritance left by the earlier Romantics, he made free and brilliant use of his birthright. His principal plays, *El Zapatero y el Rey* (1840) and *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844), have a sustained power remarkable in the work of so young a man. Another side of his genius is shown in the captivating if superficial 'Oriental poem' of *Granada* (1852), and a vast quantity of less distinguished work in all *genres* exemplifies the fertility of his invention.

While the foremost writers of the day were evincing such lukewarmness for the fortunes of Spanish Romanticism as a movement, the Classicists, few but industrious, were pursuing their way with unconcern, and others followed a middle path between those taken by the opposing parties. The doctrine of the 'happy mean' was openly eulogized by men as outstanding as Hartzenbusch, Gil y Zárate and the young author of some sensitively romantic poems and a good historical novel (*El Señor de Bembibre*, 1844), Enrique Gil y Carrasco (1815–1846). Nothing is more characteristic of the so-called 'Romantic' epoch than the revival of interest in the Unities (1839, ff.) and the re-emergence on the field of controversy of the ageing Lista. Another sign of the times is the popularity of the Moratinian playwright, Manuel Bretón de los Herreros (1796–1873), and Ventura de la Vega (1807–1865), both of whom were touched by Romanticism but never converted to it.

The 'Back-to-Lope' movement and the republication and imitation of the *romanceros* were making steady progress during these years, especially in Catalonia, where a revival of the Catalan language was taking place (see p. 182), and where mediaeval interests were therefore especially strong. Here very markedly, and more gradually through the whole of Spain, was penetrating the powerful influence of Sir Walter Scott. To name only a few writers, Ramón López Soler, José de Espronceda, Enrique Gil y Carrasco, José García de Villalta and Patricio de la Escosura all wrote novels which varied from being somewhat close imitations of Scott's manner to romances, professedly original, which plagiarized him unashamedly. It is significant that while Hugo, Lamartine, Musset, Dumas, Scribe and half a score more of Frenchmen influenced Spanish literature, the influence of Scott surpassed them all, and proved to be more enduring even than that of Byron.

These are the main lines taken by the history of Spanish Romanticism. In addition to the writers already mentioned, there abound others who show individual traits commonly associated with Romanticism in other countries. Juan Arolas (1805–1849) and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (1814–1873) are religious sentimentalists,—Lamartinians in the main, though they have numerous other sources. Nicomedes Pastor Díaz (1811–1863) affects a resigned form of *desengaño* which becomes more poignant in Gaspar Núñez de Arce (1832–1903), author also of the patriotic *Gritos del Combate*. Local colour is the strong point of ' El Solitario ' (Serafín Estébanez Calderón, 1799–1867), and Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (1803–1882) specializes in essays on *costumbres*, not unlike Larra's, which have given him in later days a new importance to both the social and the literary historian.

None of these writers, however, has more than a secondary importance compared with the four chief figures of the Romantic revival and revolt—Larra, Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla. The revival has never entirely ceased, for scholarship has come to the aid of enthusiasm and restored mediaevalism and the Golden Age to places which they are unlikely to lose. The reaction against the revolt began as early as the eighteen-forties : it was a mild and hardly noticeable one, for the would-be revolutionaries, as we have seen, had never gained any real possession of the field. And it was directed against what was the weakest part of the Romantics' armour, their entire indifference to ideas. So completely were they satisfied by brilliance and picturesqueness that even the superficial philosophy of the epigrammatic verses of Ramón de Campoamor (1819–1901) passed for profound thinking : Campoamor, with his *Doloras*, *Pequeños poemas* and *Humoradas*, which are spread over a long literary career, may be said to have led the anti-Romantic reaction. Yet the uselessness of the historian's endeavouring to put order and form into a period of confusion is shown by the dominance at this very time of one of the purest Romantics of the nineteenth century, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836–1870), whose vividly descriptive tales are as appealing as his verses, are tinged like them with bitter *desengaño* and are full of deep sensibility.

VIII. The Literature of Modern Spain

From the mid-nineteenth century the even current of Spanish literature has hardly been interrupted, though the intellectual reaction in Spain to the political disasters of 1898 gave it a fresh impetus at a time when it showed signs of debility, and carried

it on to new successes which are still continuing. In spite of the discredit which came to the exotic Romanticism of the early century, all that was best in it filtered into the literature of the next era, and the works of every one of the greatest Romantics made themselves felt on their principal successors.

In literary criticism and history this modern period is a great one, and can show a formidable array of great names. Few writers, if any, have done more for the Romantic revival than the Catalan Manuel Milá y Fontanals (1814–1884), a professor of Barcelona University whose more famous pupil, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856–1912), is Spain's greatest critic. The latter's *Ciencia española* (1876), *Horacio en España* (1877), *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1880–1881) and *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (1883–1891), represent, for all their importance, but one side of an activity which included miscellaneous critical essays, a study of Calderón, a monumental edition of Lope de Vega, anthologies of Castilian and Spanish-American poetry, and long and detailed if uncompleted histories of early Spanish poetry and the origins of the Spanish novel. And all these published works are hardly as extensive as the projects which Menéndez y Pelayo had in mind when death came prematurely to him. Beside such a man others can only be named. Pasqual de Gayangos and José Amador de los Ríos are two great names of the past. More recent critics and historians of outstanding merit are Francisco Rodríguez Marín, Emilio Cotarelo y Morí, Ramón Menéndez Pidal and the late Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. All these were either friends or pupils of Menéndez y Pelayo : with them the great past ages of Spanish literature are in expert hands and safe keeping.

But it is for its creative force that the modern age of Spanish literature is most rightly famous. In every *genre* have been produced works of the very first class ; a certain inequality here and there is compensated by unusual power ; the note of personal excellence has made itself uniformly heard, and regionalism has also had its triumphs. There are those who see in the novel since about 1920 some sign of decadence, but it will be generally admitted that in every other *genre* Spain's youthful writers are equal in promise to any of the last three generations.

To take the novel, which is first in importance, first in order, we must begin by remarking that the historical prose romance, as modelled on Sir Walter Scott, possessed no real vitality, and soon became little more than a curiosity. The native current of Spanish fiction, so strong since the early Renaissance, seemed to have dried up almost completely in the mid-seventeenth

century. It makes its reappearance, one may say, with *La Gaviota* (1849), the first and greatest *novela de costumbres* of 'Fernán Caballero' (1796–1877). Cecilia Böhl de Faber, to give this writer her maiden name (since she was three times married), was the daughter of the pre-Romantic polemist already mentioned, and partly German by origin. Far from being a Romantic, she leads a reaction against Romanticism by her adoption of a moderate realism in place of the extravagance of the past. (Cf. the preface to *La Gaviota*.) This, the first of her works, is a queer mixture of German sentiment and Andalusian local colour, showing striking gifts of description and characterization. It was acclaimed by Ochoa, and as it proved, correctly, as 'the *Waverley* of Spain . . . the dawn of a glorious day'.

Fernán Caballero continued to publish novels, but none of them, unless it was *La Familia de Albareda* (1856), equalled her first attempt. Nor was the path along which she led the way followed at first by any very notable writer: it was in the eighteen-seventies that the novel suddenly came to life. In 1874, Juan Valera (1824–1905), a mature critic and poet who in his youth had been in the diplomatic service under the Duque de Rivas, produced *Pepita Jiménez*, the first of four psychological novels which made him one of the classics of the nineteenth century. The idyllic story of the love affairs of Luis de Vargas, the young seminarist, and the charming Pepita is told with an excess of sometimes uninteresting digression, but with an insight into character, and an engaging style, which are equally the characteristics of Valera's later books, *Las Ilusiones del doctor Faustino* (1875), *El Comendador Mendoza* (1877), and *Doña Luz* (1879). He wrote for entertainment and not without pretensions to instruct. For all his knowledge of humanity, he is frankly idealistic: 'I will paint things,' he says, 'not as they are, but as more beautiful than they are, illumining them with a light that shall have the power of fascination.'

In the same year as *Pepita Jiménez* appeared the sparkling, humorous and revealing *Sombrero de tres picos* by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833–1891), one of the inimitable masterpieces of Spanish realism, a book to be read by all. While Valera and Alarcón were still writing, a third great novelist, José María de Pereda (1833–1906), came on the scene, and began the long series of mainly regional stories which had been foreshadowed in his *Escenas montañesas* (1864–1871). Of these, the finest are perhaps *Pedro Sánchez* (1883), which deals mainly with life in Madrid, and *Sotileza* (1884), a vividly realistic tale of fisher-life in Pereda's native province of Santander. How great he is in

description and characterization can best be realized by comparing him with Fernán Caballero. To his gifts Armando Palacio Valdés (b. 1853) adds a strong Asturian sense of humour, which commends him particularly to the sympathies of English readers. *Marta y María* (1883), *José* (1885) and *La Hermana San Sulpicio* (1889) are all charming tales, easily read and long remembered, distinguished for their vivid, rather than subtle characterization and their observant but kindly outlook upon contemporary life. For a short time, in *La Espuma* (1890) and *La Fe* (1892), Palacio Valdés migrated to a world of Gallic semi-naturalism, from which, however, he fortunately soon returned. True naturalism finds expression in two of the later novels of Emilia (Condesa de) Pardo Bazán (1851–1921), *Los Pazos de Ulloa* (1886) and *La Madre Naturaleza* (1887), where a Galician regionalism, represented more exclusively in some of her other works, combines with a highly developed prose style and some fiercely satirical studies of human character. A path entirely new in this century was carved out by Benito Pérez Galdós (1843–1920) in the series of novels known as *Episodios Nacionales*, which deal with some of the outstanding events in nineteenth-century Spanish history. The production of these spreads over more than thirty years: the closest parallel to them is to be found in the chronicle-plays of Shakespeare. While he was still engaged upon the *Episodios*, Pérez Galdós was also writing novels with a thesis, which unfortunately became old-fashioned as quickly as the abuses which they attacked. Nevertheless, their author won a name, and rightly so, for his powers of creation, observation and description: the characterization of *Doña Perfecta* (1876), *Gloria* (1877) and the later *Ángel Guerra* (1891) assure for them a permanent and honourable place in Spanish literature.

The remaining novelists who wrote before 1898 are for the most part men of a single book or of a single literary virtue. Amós de Escalante adopted fiction merely as a setting for his pen-pictures of the province of Santander: his *Ave, Maris Stella* (1877) is poor as a novel but has the same good qualities as the sketches entitled *Costas y Montañas* and *En la playa*. Leopoldo Alas' *La Regenta* (1885) is a lengthy psychological novel written by one who before everything else was an essayist and a critic and is also frequently read in his short stories, written like most of his work over the pseudonym of 'Clarín'. The *Pequeñeces* (1890) of the Jesuit Luis Coloma (1851–1915) is a merciless satire of the aristocracy of Madrid containing a large element of caricature. Jacinto Octavio Picón, a Madrileño with one eye on Valera and another on the French psychologists, is a stylist with

leanings to fiction, rather than a novelist, though he wrote little beside novels, short or long : the best of them is perhaps *Dulce y sabrosa* (1891).

This renewed activity in the novel was most noticeable towards the end of the nineteenth century, and, after an uninterrupted play of over thirty years, is now showing signs of having spent itself. The giants of the first generation of the new century, however, are likely to grow in fame with coming years, rather than to decline, and, although it is hard to see who will be their successors, they are themselves happily for the most part still living.

Regionalism and character-study are the principal traits of the modern Spanish novel, which has rejected the coarser exaggerations of Naturalism, but is nevertheless, as always, keenly alive to reality. Although Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (1867–1928) is generally considered, both in Spain and out of it, to have sold himself for a fortune, there is much in his work which represents the tendencies of his generation. No one can help being charmed by the youthful *Cuentos Valencianos*, or by the poignant tale of Valencian fisher-life, *Flor de Mayo* (1895), with its vivid descriptions of Blasco's native Valencia and the clearly outlined personalities of Tona, Tonet and Pascual. In *La Barraca* (1898), the author's understanding delved deeper, while as also in *Entre Naranjos* and *Cañas y Barro*, the setting of Valencia, of its Huerta and its Albufera, became ever more attractive. Then Blasco, a Republican and a rebel all his life, left the regional novel, first for social and anti-clerical polemic (*La Catedral, El Intruso, La Horda* : 1903–1905) and afterwards for psychological studies (1905–1909), effective enough but with a tendency to sensationalism which is manifest even in their titles : *La Maja desnuda, Sangre y arena, Los Muertos mandan.* In all these, granting their undeniable fire and energy, the author's colours are becoming cruder and his voice is growing more strident. From the time of the Great War down to his death in exile at Mentone early in 1928, Blasco Ibáñez degenerates into a writer of commercial fiction. The best of a large number of his last works are *Los Cuatro Jinetes del Apocalipsis* (1916), which raised him to cinematographic fame, and *Mare Nostrum* (1918), which battened on the success of its predecessor, but is an equally good example of Blasco's latest methods. These consist briefly in the massing of characters and detail, the creating of international, cosmopolitan interests and the disregarding of style in favour of an impressionistic total effect.

The Basque writer Pío Baroja (b. 1872) is no more of a stylist than Blasco Ibáñez : indeed, he is a byword in Spain for careless,

rapid composition. But his literary manner is of a piece with the character of his works as a whole, and his restless, plot-ridden genius has to be seriously reckoned with by his critics. Almost any of his novels can be read with pleasure, for his is a practical impressionism, and his own impulse carries one on irresistibly to the end of his stories. Many of his novels he publishes in trilogies, of which the best are *El Pasado*, *La Vida Fantástica*, *La Raza*, *El Mar*, and *Las Ciudades*. A longer series of what Pérez Galdós would have called *episodios nacionales* has the title *Memorias de un hombre de acción*. All these books are vivid, intense and earnest; they present their author as radical and social reformer, but by no means as such alone. His flashes of description and his gaunt keen plots are not easily forgotten. In any country, and in any epoch, he would be an outstanding figure.

With Blasco Ibáñez and Baroja may be classed Felipe Trigo (1865–1916), a medical man who started to write rather later in life than is usual with Spaniards and was winning his way to pre-eminence in the naturalistic field when he died. Obsessed with the sexual aspect of love, he is regarded by many critics as 'frankly immoral and pornographical', though he professes a 'mortal hatred of pornography, vice and all vulgar and base passions'. He was not without his disciples, including those who followed him with a difference, and with principally commercial aims in view. The chief of his serious followers are Alberto Insúa and Salvador González Anaya, but it cannot be considered likely that either his manner or his matter will prove inspiring to a literary generation whose ideals are far removed from his own.

The remaining great novelists of to-day follow the realistic tradition with variations which exhibit them as profoundly individual. The oldest of these (though in spirit he is perhaps the youngest) is the Galician Ramón María del Valle-Inclán (b. 1869). Valle-Inclán, before all things a poet, an artist and a lover of the beautiful, is the very antithesis of Pío Baroja: like Thomas Hardy, he should be read chiefly by those who love for its own sake the language in which he writes, and are not impatient to reach the conclusion of his story. Such as these will delight in *Flor de Santidad* (1904) and the four *Sonatas* (1902–1905), whose centre is the history of the Marqués de Bradomín. Of his later novels, which are very numerous, one of the best is *La Corte de los Milagros* (1927), the first volume of a series of three trilogies. A poet also, and an artist in words, is Ramón Pérez de Ayala (b. 1881), in whom humour wells up refreshingly and character-interest asserts itself invitingly as well as forcefully. The chief of his early novels, *A.M.D.G.* (1910), a satire

on Jesuit education, is still read, but his best work, which has been done since 1920, was introduced by *Belarmino y Apolonio*, a striking and sympathetic story of two cobblers. Since then *Luna de miel, Luna de hiel* (1923), *Los Trabajos de Urbano y Simona* (1923) and *Bajo el Signo de Artemisa* (1924) have marked new peaks of achievement.

Ricardo León (b. 1877) is a striking example of the influence which religion has upon the Spanish character. In his realism he follows the native tradition, but it is chiefly because he reflects so admirably the religious sentiment of his countrymen that, in spite of his sonorous, archaic style, and his by no means thrilling plots, he is one of the most popular writers in Spain. His earliest works were in verse. At the age of thirty he produced his first novel, *Casta de hidalgos* (1908), which has been described as a *guía espiritual* to the little old-world town of Santillana. His best books since then have been the mystical *El Amor de los amores* (1910), *Los Centauros* (1912) and *Humos de Rey* (1923). Not every one will enjoy him : there is little that goes with youth in his work and he belongs, not to Europe, still less to the world, but always to Spain.

Less appreciated, unhappily, but at least as deserving of appreciation, is Gabriel Miró (b. 1879), a pictorial symbolist, no less truly religious in his art than is León, but the possessor also of a sensibility, a love of nature and a power of visualization which the average reader simply does not understand. So abundant in imagery is Miró, so lavish is he of detail, and so gorgeous are his pictures and descriptions that these remain often in the memory to the detriment of his works in their *ensemble*. Yet there is no Spanish writer of to-day to whom the lover of beauty will return with more unfailing delight, once he has learned to appreciate *Figuras de la Pasión del Señor* (1916) and *Nuestro Padre San Daniel* (1921).

The minor novelists of the twentieth century must be mentioned briefly, for they are many. Among them is to be reckoned Concha Espina (b. 1877), for though her Santanderian admirers demand all kinds of appreciation for her, from the Nobel Prize upwards, she impresses many who have read widely in Spanish literature (not to say in the literatures of other countries) as sentimental, artificial and ineffective. In *La Esfinge Maragata* (1913), with its happy blend of the ideal and the real, she is generally considered to be at her best. She can present telling descriptions and striking characters, but her effects are not long sustained. She has the distinction, nevertheless, of being Spain's foremost woman writer since the death of the Condesa de Pardo Bazán.

Other minor novelists, almost without exception, follow in the same path of regionalism, realism and psychology—especially the first—as are being trodden by their greater contemporaries. Alejandro Pérez Lugín achieved a well-deserved celebrity with a picture of Galician student life in *La Casa de la Troya* (1915), which he followed up less successfully with the very Sevilian *Currito de la Cruz*. Wenceslao Fernández Flórez is a Galician of many moods, all of them curious; José Mas is a specialist in Seville; the *Revolución de Laiño* (1921) of Francisco Camba, another Galician, has been awarded a prize by the Royal Spanish Academy; Augusto Martínez Olmedilla sets his stage in Madrid and writes novels of pure psychology. Pedro Mata, a more popular psychological novelist, tends to the mildly sensational but is also something of a stylist. Alfonso Danvila, in his series of novels called 'Las Luchas fratricidas de España', returns to the historical novel, which except by Pérez Galdós and Pío Baroja has hardly been cultivated seriously in Spain, as a *genre*, since the passing of the influence of Sir Walter Scott.

Spanish drama in the later nineteenth century begins with Manuel Tamayo y Baus (1828–1898). After trying his hand at various types of play, from sentimental Romanticism to correct Classical tragedy, Tamayo produced an undoubted masterpiece in *Un drama nuevo* (1867), a powerful and tragic character-drama, the best of its kind since *Don Álvaro*, which introduces among its characters the figure of Shakespeare. A number of minor dramatists flourished at this time, but the true successor of Tamayo is José Echegaray (1832–1916), successively teacher, statesman and Nobel prizeman (1905), who draws his inspiration directly from the Romantics, attaches great importance to dramatic, even sensational effect, and, in his latest plays, assimilates himself to the drama of Ibsen. He is particularly fond of casuistical themes and frequently expounds a thesis. *O locura o santidad* (1877) and *El gran Galeoto* (1881) are typical examples of his work, both in their strength and in their weakness. A half-turn from Echegaray's neo-Romanticism towards reality was given to Spanish drama by Joaquín Dicenta (1863–1917), whose *Juan José* (1895), though not entirely breaking with the conventions of Echegaray, is a serious social study dealing with the life of an artisan in Madrid. This social tendency was reinforced by Pérez Galdós, who, at the end of the nineteenth century, turned to play-writing and produced a number of novel-like dramas of which the most interesting is *Electra* (1900). This and all other social-problem dramas, however, were soon eclipsed by the appearance on the stage of a greater playwright perhaps

than any in Spain since Calderón, who gave the *coup de grâce* to the somewhat outplayed devices of the neo-Romantics and initiated what for a generation more will probably be known as modern Spanish drama.

This was Jacinto Benavente (b. 1866), winner of the Nobel Prize of 1922, and probably the living Spanish writer with the most solid European reputation. To name as outstanding any of Benavente's plays, which have been appearing continuously since 1894, would be to belittle the high standard of the whole. Several volumes of them have appeared in English translation, so that even those who read no Spanish can judge them for themselves. Speaking broadly, Benavente favours the opposite extreme to that taken by the nineteenth-century Romantics, portrays everyday life—frequently the fashionable cosmopolitan life of European aristocracy—and treats it dramatically in a highly individual fashion, the principal elements in his art being symbolism, imagination and irony. Criticisms of Benavente are numerous. 'One cannot help wondering', writes a thoughtful critic, 'whether in (his) intellectual, sceptical art the absence of outward show and nobility, the absence also of faith and reverence, is not responsible for that lack of repose which makes his plays fluent as water but also as fugitive and unstable.' For all his insight and understanding, it is certain that Benavente seldom satisfies. His plays require 'a highly educated audience such as (can) appreciate a theatre of ideas, understand philosophical dialogue, rejoice in ingenious and penetrating remarks, answer to suggestion, prefer irony to declamation, seize comical touches presented with the most innocent air and immediately grasp the subtlest allusions'. Such an audience will delight equally in his studies of middle-class Madrileños (e.g. *Por las nubes*, 1909), in his incisive satires on the æsthetic temperament (*Lo Cursi*, 1901), and on the upper classes (*La Gobernadora*, 1901), his fantastic, philosophical plays (*La noche del sábado*, 1903), his profound studies in psychology (*Alma Triunfante*, 1902) and the almost innumerable variations on these types. A greater proportion of Benavente's readers appreciate only a few of the many-sided aspects of his genius.

Less varied and profound than Benavente, but of considerably more appeal to the ordinary playgoer, is Gregorio Martínez Sierra (b. 1881), whose dramas reveal the poet in prose, endowed with an unusual delicacy and charm and a sure command of the difficult art of drawing character. The personages of Martínez Sierra, if occasionally a little shadowy, are as a rule endowed with a verisimilitude and a vivacity which few dramatists in modern

times have equalled. Feminism is a striking feature of his plays ; his women are as a class more acceptable than his men ; and a tendency, which he generally checks, to sentimentality, conveys the false idea of effeminacy. Beneath their frequently emotional outer garb his women are capable of wearing steel armour. This is exemplified perfectly in *El Reino de Dios* (1915), the religious strain in which is also characteristic of Martínez Sierra, notably in *Canción de Cuna* (1911), a two-act play which, like it, lies open to the charge of disparity : of a very different nature are the brilliant and sparkling *Sueño de una noche de Agosto* (1918 : translated into English as *The Romantic Young Lady*), the lyrical and rhythmical *Margot*, and the delightful child-fantasy *El Palacio Triste*.

Next to Benavente and Martínez Sierra come Serafín (b. 1871) and Joaquín (b. 1873) Álvarez Quintero, two brothers who, like Benavente, have been writing steadily for over thirty years, and, like Martínez Sierra, are pre-eminent in grace and delicacy. Without ever probing into life very deeply, they have given us picture after picture of Andalusia. Their dialogue is marvellous for its tunefulness, shimmer and vitality. Irony and farce in the Quinteros blend with pure comedy, and their prose is continually informed by the spirit of poetry. They are in the true succession of Ramón de la Cruz—it might even be said of Lope de Rueda—the more so as many of their plays are of the light, one-act type commonly described as the *género chico*.

The renaissance of this form of play has been one of the features of Spanish drama during the last sixty years. Ricardo de la Vega (son of Ventura) and Tomás Luceño were its initiators in the nineteenth century ; its first appearance was as the *sainete*, and its popularity was enhanced by the music of such composers as Tomás Bretón (see p. 237) by which it was accompanied. The number of present-day writers of *sainetes*, *zarzuelas*, *entremeses*, and the like is far too great for many of them to be here referred to. It must suffice to mention the inimitable Carlos Arniches (b. 1866), to whom much is forgiven for his genius ; José López Silva (b. 1861) ; and Enrique García Álvarez.

Returning to regular drama, we have to consider Manuel Linares Rivas (b. 1867), the principal dramatist to be commonly classed with those already mentioned. Many Spanish critics, however, refuse him that honour. Like the Quinteros, he is master of an easy and sparkling dialogue, and his plots trip along entertainingly to a neatly rounded-off conclusion. His superficiality is by no means always as great as it seems : one of his first plays, for example, *El Abolengo* (1904), is worth a careful

reading. But no one can pretend that such successes as *La Garra*, *La Fuerza del mal* and *Cobardías* are of a kind likely to be remembered for generations. Their themes—or theses—are stereotyped, their characterization is shallow: they do little but obey 'la grande règle de toutes les règles' by giving pleasure.

Other dramatists who have attained to greater or less celebrity represent a considerable number and variety of tendencies. Valle-Inclán carries into the drama his archaism, polished style and love of beauty as well as his famous Marquis. Antonio Rey Soto, a Galician, writes dramatic poems, while the Granadine, Francisco de Villaespesa, is the author of poetical dramas, the best known of which, *El Alcázar de las Perlas* (1911), contains some wonderful passages on Granada. Another poetically-minded dramatist, more famous as a lyricist, is Eduardo Marquina. Enrique López Alarcón, author of a number of plays, has collaborated with Ramón de Godoy, in *La Tizona*, a heroic, declamatory drama, which recalls the days of *Don Álvaro*. Ramón Goy de Silva is a serious writer who represents something akin to the poetry of the French symbolists. Pedro Múñoz Seca goes to the other extreme of boisterous comedy, parody and burlesque.

In lyric poetry, both the Classical and the Romantic traditions were continued, and a somewhat academic tendency to the symbolic, exemplified in the *Drama Universal* of Campoamor, and continued by Núñez de Arce and others, gives little indication of the direction which the lyric was to take in the twentieth century. This perhaps is the most fertile *genre* at the present day. The modern spirit was infused into Spanish poetry chiefly by Rubén Darío (1867–1916), a Nicaraguan and cosmopolitan who inspired the generation of 1898, and caused poetry to throb in Spain in a way it had never done before. An outstanding poet who died before he could come under this influence is José María Gabriel y Galán (1870–1905). Here we have a writer of classical sympathies who goes back to the ever-new inspiration of Luis de León and excels in the religious lyric and in the song of the Castilian countryside. But most of the Spanish lyricists alive to-day, who are both numerous and distinguished, are Romantics. Freedom rather than restraint, both in subject and in form, intense individuality, vivid description, and white heat of imagination are the outstanding traits of most of them. This is not to deny that they are often consummate artists. Manuel Machado (b. 1874), a Sevilian and a craftsman to the finger-tips, knows the secret of making sound echo sense in vowel-play, rhyme and assonance, and his choice of metres is so varied and so sure that he can convey almost any effect (or so it seems) independently

of language. He excels at creating in a few brief lines a portrait of indelible brilliance. Like many other of the poets to be described, he has carried on the work of the Romantic revival by using traditional Spanish verse forms with great effect: his father, it may be added, was a distinguished folklorist. His brother, Antonio Machado (b. 1875), a Sevilian also by birth, is rather a Castilian by temperament. His verses are for the most part serious and thoughtful. 'Antonio, grave and solemn,' it has been said, 'plunges into the mysterious; Manuel, light and superficial, flits from flower to flower.' In *Soledades, Galerías y otros poemas*, which date from 1903 onwards, Antonio writes of the retreats and secret passages of the human soul. In *Campos de Castilla* (1912) he is the poet of Spain's vast arid central plateau: he has also, in this collection, his didactic moments, the finest example of which in all his work is the wonderful poem ('Como se fué el maestro . . .') on the death of the educational reformer and thinker, Francisco Giner de los Ríos.

More truly the poet of Castile than Antonio Machado is Enrique de Mesa (b. 1878), a true lyricist in the *Cancionero Castellano* (1911) and in all his writings a painter and a singer alternately of the Castilian landscape. Perhaps his most characteristic volume is *El Silencio de la Cartuja*, which describes the Carthusian monastery of Santa María del Paular in the Guadarrama Mountains: in this book his love of solitude, and of nature, especially Castilian nature, has full play. Enrique de Mesa is also distinguished among poets of to-day who have re-popularized the *romances* of old Spain.

In the works of Eduardo Marquina (b. 1879) lyric poetry mingles with the drama, and we have such curious blends of the two as the 'leyenda dramática', 'poema dramático', 'trova dramática', 'leyenda trágica', and 'cuento de pueblo en cuatro actos y en verso'. His *Elegías* (1905) have hardly been surpassed by their author. His poems of love, in their passion and sheer beauty, recall Garcilaso de la Vega, and St. John of the Cross: an Englishman is constantly reminded in them of the sonnets of Sidney and Shakespeare. Another of his favourite themes is the sea, in writing of which he captures the truest of his inspirations from Nature. It is right to add that some of his poetry is oversonorous and declamatory and fails by a long way to equal the best of his verses.

Enrique Díez-Canedo (b. 1879), a sane and prudent critic, as well as a poet, is of a quiet and reflective turn of mind, and has a small but select following. His verses never flow from him uncontrollably in torrents overcharged with emotion: rather his

art is that of the quiet pool amid the autumn forests. He finds his inspiration in simple things; his verses are smooth and melodious; and if occasionally a staccato passage in his poems has a startling effect, this is due to its very rareness. Of all collections of modern Spanish poetry his *Versos de las horas* (1906) and *La Visita del Sol* (1907) are the most companionable.

Full of force and fire, on the other hand, is Juan Ramón Jiménez (b. 1881), author of the charming Andalusian prose idyll *Platero y yo* (1914) and of a large number of collections of verse, typical among which are *La Soledad sonora* (1908), *Poemas mágicos y dolientes* (1909) and *Sonetos espirituales* (1917). Juan Ramón Jiménez is full of affectations, conventions, Gongorisms, prosaic turns of phrase and startling images, which tend to diminish but are unlikely ever to disappear. He is also a modernist in versification as in style and in vocabulary: in this last respect, his colours are a taste which all do not acquire. But his intense individuality and dynamic force have already won for him a group of distinguished younger followers, and when the history of twentieth-century poetry comes to be written, his name will be prominent in it. Of these rising poets, the most inspired are Pedro Salinas (b. 1896), a professor at the University of Seville, Dámaso Alonso, a rising philologist, and Rafael Alberti, a young Gaditano, whose chief theme, naturally enough, is the sea, and whose early verses mark him as likely to be one of the great poets of to-morrow.

Besides the critics and scholars referred to above (see p. 169) a number of outstanding writers have cultivated the essay, or varieties of it, and are to be counted among the masters of modern Spanish prose. The Granadine Angel Ganivet (1865–1898) belongs to a past generation, but, had he lived longer, might have influenced the twentieth century profoundly. He will be remembered less for his excursions into fiction (*La Conquista del Reino de Maya; Los Trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid*) than for his penetrating essay entitled *Idearium Español* (1896), which should be read by every student of modern Spain. The same frankness and earnestness are to be found in the writings of Miguel de Unamuno (b. 1864), a Basque by birth, a Salamancan by adoption, a poet by temperament, a Liberal and anti-clerical by conviction and a philosopher from deliberate choice. Apart from his poems, he has written several volumes of most able essays (*Ensayos*, 1916–1919), as well as treatises of popular philosophy (*Del Sentimiento trágico de la vida*, 1913) and some novels. An original and sometimes imaginative piece of criticism is Unamuno's commentary on *Don Quijote*, entitled *Vida de Don Quijote y*

Sancho, in which he makes Cervantes' heroes two pegs on which to hang a patriotic discourse addressed to his own countrymen. Frequently exasperating in all his prose work, Unamuno is so stimulating and suggestive that every one but his political enemies can forgive him for what they dislike in it and admire the energy and youthfulness of mind which blend so successfully with his learning.

Most popular of all present-day essayists—more so even than José Ortega y Gasset and Eugenio d'Ors, both of whom are widely read in Spain—is the inimitable 'Azorín' (José Martínez Ruiz, b. 1876). Azorín has attempted every conceivable kind of prose-work, from novel (*Don Juan, Doña Inés*) and drama (*Old Spain*) to would-be scientific literary criticism (*Rivas y Larra*). In no *genre*, however, has he been as successful as in the short, literary essay—his true medium. His Academy discourse (*Una hora de España*, 1924) showed how incapable he was of writing anything else with as much effect, and at the same time how superb are his essays at their best. His style, peculiarly individual, simple and ingenuous, expresses his keen desire to get to the heart of things in his criticism. In literature he poses as the 'plain man': 'I read for pleasure', he says in one place, 'and not for erudition. . . . These essays are nothing but the notes of a reader.' Azorín's critical art is of the kind which conceals art, but it has been none the less appreciated for that and has led many to see new beauties in Spanish literature (*Lecturas españolas*, 1912; *Clásicos y Modernos*, 1913; *Al Margen de los clásicos*, 1915; *Los dos Luises*, 1921). In descriptive power, he is no less effective. His Castilian landscapes are as carefully etched as his literary criticisms, while his sketches of persons—great and humble—and the animated scenes of village life, both of the past and of the present, which crowd his pages, have an intimacy which is an important part of his attractiveness.

Although the two fine and growing literatures of Latin America and Catalonia cannot be treated in this volume in any detail, it is necessary to say something of them because of their bearing upon the national literature of Spain. The *Azul* (1888) of the young Rubén Darío probably had more influence on lyric poetry of the succeeding generation than any book written by a Spaniard. Darío's poetic inspiration came by no means wholly from Spanish America, for he is strongly affected both by French literary symbolism and by the various poetic ages of Spain herself. His most lasting gift to Spain is the individuality which made him first a daring experimenter in versification and afterwards a con-

summate master of it. The principal American poets to be read alongside Rubén Darío are the Colombian José Asunción Silva (1865–1896), who again was a versifier of great originality; José Enrique Rodó (1872–1917), a Uruguayan; the Mexicans Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera (1859–1895) and Amado Nervo (1870–1919); and the Peruvian José Santos Chocano (b. 1875). Precisely what Spain has drawn from this or that of the Spanish American modernists is a matter for discussion, but undoubtedly she owes to them all the greater freedom of rhythm and flexibility of expression which the late nineteenth century learned from music.

The modern literature of Catalonia, in so far as it was written in Catalan, dates from the early years of Romanticism, when, as has been said, the old Catalan language, after a total or partial submergence of many centuries, came to life again. Soft and musical as it is, it became immediately the vehicle for poetical ideas and feelings, and lyric poetry has, ever since the Catalan Renaissance, been its principal outlet. The publication by a Barcelona newspaper, *El Vapor*, of Aribau's fervidly nationalist *Oda a la patria* (1833) is considered as the decisive event of the renaissance of the Catalan language. Aribau himself, like Cabanyes, wrote most of his other work in Castilian, but as decades passed the native tongue regained more and more popularity, partly owing to the revival of the Jocs Florals in 1858 and to the devoted work of a few pioneers in re-presenting to nineteenth-century Catalonia the glorious literary achievements of their ancestors. Among the foremost modern poets who have written in Catalan, and are at least the equal of their contemporaries in Castilian literature, may be mentioned Jacinto Verdaguer (1845–1902), Angel Guimerà (1847–1924), also a notable dramatist in Castilian; Miguel Costa i Llobera (1854–1922), Joan Maragall (1860–1911), Joan Alcover (1854–1926), and Gabriel Alomar (b. 1873). To appreciate these fully, it is necessary to learn their language. But one can realize how important a part Catalan culture has played in Spanish literature, by considering the long roll of *prosateurs* (particularly the historians and critics) of the nineteenth century, who wrote in both languages and without whom Spanish literature would be inestimably poorer. Manuel Milà i Fontanals, the distinguished folklorist and first president of the revived Jocs Florals, has already been referred to. Victor Balaguer, Pau Piferrer, Joaquim Rubió i Ors, Marian Aguiló, Josep Maria Quadrado and Antonio Rubió i Lluch are a strong list of personages hardly inferior to him, if at all, either as scholars or as writers. Whatever critics may think of

the political pretensions of Catalonia, not the most unsympathetic of them can deny that the glories of her literature in the Middle Ages are finding a worthy echo in these modern days and the more discerning students of Catalan literature predict for it a future beyond anything which it has at present accomplished.

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This includes practically everything that the general reader is likely to require published earlier than 1925. It contains the following sections: (1) Bibliographies; (2) Works of reference; (3) History of the Theatre; (4) Collections of texts; (5) Anthologies; (6) Works of reference on the early period of Spanish Literature; (7) Editions and Commentaries. It may best be supplemented, for later works, by the quarterly bibliography of new publications which appears in the *Revista de Filología Española*, a review published by the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, Madrid.

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[See also Nos. 11, 17, 18, 21, 31.]

CHAPTER VI

SPANISH PAINTING

THE history of Spanish painting is not like the history of the painting of any other European nation, in that it is not the history of a popular movement, or a national necessity. In Italy, painting grew as the direct result of a national religious need. In Central Europe, it grew in response to the illustrative instinct. In Flanders, it grew as the result of a two-fold outlook, the religious outlook common to all Christendom, and the entirely sentimental outlook of a people interested in its natural surroundings of personality and of scenery. But in Spain, none of these instincts had anything to do with the growth of painting. The religious need was more readily and more thoroughly satisfied by sculpture, even of the rudest kind. The illustrative need, to a people intensely literal in its power of imagination, or rather largely lacking in imagination, scarcely existed, and in respect of the sentimental outlook upon the environment, it can scarcely be said that this found any artistic expression whatever until the end of the fifteenth century, or, in fact, that it found adequate expression until well down into the seventeenth century. The Spanish temperament is on the one hand tremendously reserved, and on the other tremendously emotional, and between these two extremes there was little or no possibility of adequate expression through the medium of an art which in its very essence was symbolic. To speak of painting as being essentially symbolic would have been, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in this country, an incomprehensible proposition, for facility of technique and expression had by that time reduced English painting to mere unintelligent reproduction, and apart from the imaginative and little appreciated work of such painters as J. M. W. Turner, had no real existence as an art at all. But, in these days, it is very much easier to state this proposition, for the most modern painters and their appreciators have arrived at the other end of the scale in the understanding of painting. Therefore, we need have no hesitation in seeing in the earlier phases of Spanish painting a struggle between the literal

truthfulness of the painter on the one hand and his desire to express the abstract on the other, not realizing the great difficulty with which he was confronted in reconciling the two.

It has long since become a commonplace of artistic history that, in Velázquez, Spain found, in the seventeenth century, the greatest literal exponent of things seen, as opposed to things known, that painting has yet produced, and that the whole of a great technique of painting was built up by this one painter, as a natural heir of his great predecessor, El Greco, for that one clearly realized purpose. What is not so generally understood is that the purpose of Velázquez had been that of Spanish painters from the very beginning.

The beginning of painting as an art of expression—that is to say, as an interpretation of the artist's own view of life and its problems—does not seem, at a cursory glance, to date back very far, but if we come to consider the work of the earliest known Spanish painters, those who decorated the fronts and sides of altars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we shall see at once that there is a marked difference between the Spanish and any other national point of view, with regard to the task in hand. The earliest painters of Spain whose work can be assigned to any definite school are those of Catalonia, and whereas their contemporaries of the thirteenth century in Italy deliberately adhered to the already conventionalized types of Byzantine painting, the Spaniard, from the very beginning, imported into his work the element of personal observation. Mr. Isherwood Kay has remarked upon the 'rustic cumbersome figures, blue eyes and homely genial faces' of the saints in an altar-piece ascribed to Bernat de Pou, a painter of Barcelona, who worked under the patronage of Alfonso, son of King James II, at Balaguer, in 1314, and this literal and homely character is that which gives the keynote of truly Spanish painting from this time down to the very present day.

Ferrer Bassa (*fl.* 1315–1348) was to a great extent a miniature painter, but work by him survives on the walls of the Convent of Pedralbes at Barcelona in the form of a series of scenes from the Passion, of directly Italian derivation. Those who have seen them assert that it would be difficult to distinguish between them and the work of their Italian source, namely Giotto himself, but, at the same time, it is sufficiently plain that their comparative clumsiness of draftsmanship and coarseness of colour are compensated by an extraordinary vigour and directness of attack. Bassa, in fact, although he had learned the whole of his draftsmanship and composition in Italy, was very definitely Spanish,

and very definitely personal in his approach to the treatment of his subject. In a rapid review of this kind, it is impossible to follow step by step the growth of Spanish painting to the point at which it was ultimately able to break loose from Italian influences, but there is no doubt that, during the whole of the fourteenth and the greater part of the fifteenth century, the school of Catalonia was deliberately and consciously eclectic, deriving technical inspiration alike from Florence and Siena, and it was not until the supersession of Gothic by the Renaissance type of architectural settings that the Italian influence began to lose ground and to be supplanted, or at least invaded, by Flemish methods. The great centres of Catalonian culture, Barcelona and Valencia, are the principal centres of this school, which reached from Perpignan in the north to Alicante in the south, and was of course in close and constant contact with Italy; and the strength of Italian influence in the early development of Spanish painting is due to this contact, and to Sienese influence, through the work of Simone Martini at Avignon. The brothers Jaume and Pere Serra (*fl.* 1361–1399), Lorenzo Saragossa (1365–1402) and Luis Borrassá (1380–1424) all carried on and accentuated this Sienese influence, and the practice of the Sienese in building up vast altar-pieces of a large number of small panels set in an elaborate architectural setting was the natural ancestor of the Spanish fashion of the retablo, which became almost the sole pictorial decoration of the Church with the coming of the Renaissance in Spain.

Gradually, however, the School of Valencia separated itself from the true Catalonian School, and began to exhibit characteristics of its own. Although it is supposed with good reason that Florentine painting exercised much influence on the School of Valencia, as exemplified by the remarkable picture of St. Michael in the Edinburgh National Museum, there is no doubt whatever of the native Spanish origin of these Valencian pictures. They hover strangely between literal and individual observation, and a large and almost careless tendency towards the generalization of types, and while on the one hand they retain the national characteristics of pale faces and fair colour, in contrast with the stereotyped Italian characteristics of their supposed models, they make excursions into a literalism which has nothing whatever to do with Italy, is very natural to Spain, and must be traced in its origin as an experiment in painting to one source only, namely Flanders. It was under the direction of Alfonso V of Aragon that Netherlandish art gained ground in Valencia. It is said that, in 1427, Jan van Eyck visited Valencia with an embassy, and at any rate it is certain that he spent some time in Spain during 1428.

In 1431, Luis Dalmau went from Valencia to Bruges to learn his craft more perfectly, and in 1445 painted the picture which, in its place of honour in the Barcelona Museum, is a standing testimony to the susceptibility of Spanish painters to Flemish influence. From this time onward, it is scarcely necessary to seek beyond Flanders for the inspiration of Spanish painting during the whole of the fifteenth century. Nothing could be more widely separated than the Flemish and the Spanish outlook upon man and upon Nature, except in two points, and these two points are vital. The Fleming, like the Spaniard, was enormously interested in every aspect of human emotion, and the Fleming, like the Spaniard, was enormously interested in everything affecting the human being through his environment. The landscape background is as natural to the materialistic but imaginative Fleming as the gold background is to the philosophic Florentine,—the one cannot see man apart from the world in which he lives, the other cannot see man until he is definitely separated from the world in which he lives. The Spaniard, grasping with Latin clarity of mind the independence of man from his surroundings, at the same time grasps with Flemish thoroughness the essential unity of man with the world in which he lives.

This may seem to be a fanciful over-statement of the Spanish outlook both upon life and upon painting, but the fact remains that from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards, the Spanish painter set himself the task of achieving, not the expression of an abstract idea, but the representation of a concrete condition, and from this time onward, the development of impressionistic realism in Spanish painting was a foregone conclusion.

The coincidence, to all intents and purposes, of the entry into Spanish architecture of the Renaissance finality of design, and of the Flemish literalism in representation, determined that the next phase in the development of Spanish painting should be that which arose under the influence of the retablo. The vast architectural settings which surround the altars of so many Spanish churches have but one representative in British museums, namely, the great retablo in the Victoria and Albert Museum, containing seventeen episodes from the legend of St. George. This huge design, based traditionally, as has already been pointed out, upon the Sienese model, is here glorified into a picture gallery upon a set subject, in which each panel can represent its episode with a concentration of vigour and design which, while it gives every opportunity of powerful expression, leaves no room for the artist to fall into the manifold traps of composition on a large scale.

No style of painting could be more perfectly adapted to the needs of the retablo than that of Flanders, with its minute finish, brilliancy of execution and forcible but generalized representation of types, and to this art the painters of Spain bent themselves for the next three-quarters of a century. The great masters of the retablo of the fifteenth century are few in number, and their strength lay in their capacity for adapting their ideas from foreign sources. While it is easy to recognize in any work of Jaime Huguet (*fl.* 1448–1487) and of Bartolomé Bermejo (*fl.* 1474–1495) the influence of Flanders in every line, it is equally possible to trace in Jaime Baço, commonly known as Jacomard (1410–1461), the influence of the Italian Renaissance. To put it shortly, painting was not yet a national Spanish art. No painter, however great his inventive power, however great his religious enthusiasm, was able to build up an art on entirely Spanish lines for the expression of his Spanish outlook, and it is even true that the last named of these painters, Jacomard, was not a Spaniard, but a Frenchman, probably of a descent lying outside the limits of Catalonian influence, and still further rendered cosmopolitan by contact with the Italian painters of Naples and possibly Rome. In the work of Jacomard there is at once an elaboration of detail and a breadth of effect which would excuse the belief that he had come into contact with the contemporary artists of Umbria, and that he was in fact an international rather than a national painter; but his sobriety of colour and instinctive dignity (even though primitive) of design show his response to the primary desiderata of his Spanish patrons.

Huguet was far more Spanish and far more Flemish both in intention and in method, and in his work we see very strongly developed the grimness of colouring and forcible rendering of things actually seen, which we shall come later to regard as essentials of the Spanish art. The work attributed to him, 'Our Lady enthroned with Child, and Adoring Angels', in the Birmingham Art Gallery, is an interesting reminder of the fact that the School of Catalonia (as it must still be regarded) practically dominated the more remote possessions of Spain in the Mediterranean, for this work, purchased in Sardinia, is probably not by Huguet, but by a school founded by him either in, or for export to Sardinia. It has every mark of a provincial painting in the somewhat clumsy reproduction of entirely foreign forms, as in the angels above the canopy, who are strongly reminiscent of Campin. Its architectural details are entirely Gothic, its draperies might have been taken straight from any Flemish painter of the fifteenth century, but its two donors, kneeling in

the foreground, stand as a response to the recorded dissatisfaction of Spanish donors of the fifteenth century, who were constantly demanding recognizable rendering of individuals in place of the generalized portraits which were found among Catalonian painters. In other words, Huguet represents the fusion of the Flemish method with the Spanish spirit far more than either Jacomard or Bermejo (more generally known in this country as Bartolommeo Rubeo), who is almost slavishly Flemish in his handling of his medium. He practised the fashion of oil painting then becoming general in Flanders, and, whether in oil or tempera, he sought invariably the brilliance of that medium in his colouring, and the precision of the draftsmanship appropriate to it. On the other hand, however, he should claim credit as being among the first of Spanish painters to break away from that compromise between painting and sculpture which had characterized all the early phases of Spanish paintings, by representing in paint rather than in built-up gesso or heavy gilding the metallic portions of his design. His St. Michael in the Wernher Collection is a supreme example of the adaptation of the purely Flemish technique to Spanish needs, for in this picture, while every detail of the glittering golden armour set with jewels, and every excursion into grotesqueness which it is possible to impart into his representation of the dragon, is fully indulged, the picture as a whole remains possible rather than fantastic, real rather than purely imaginary.

It was, in fact, in the shaking-off of the trammels of an imagination unnatural to the Spaniard that the task of the Spanish painter in the latter part of the fifteenth and in the early part of the sixteenth century consisted. The Spanish imagination is, according to the way we look at it, either the most vigorous or the most ineffective in the world, for the Spaniard is incapable of visualizing any abstract idea except in terms of the absolutely literal and material world by which he is surrounded, and in which he lives. He had therefore to shake himself free of every vestige of the symbolism which came perfectly naturally to the Italian, and was intelligible to the more speculative painter of Flanders, and to bring down to the level of human experience all those abstract ideas in which he was the most fervid believer, perhaps, of them all.

Religious painting, as it was prescribed by the Church, demanded that the most tremendous abstract ideas should be clothed in a form intelligible to a race brought up in the atmosphere of conflict between two faiths, opposed in their very essence so far as the method of artistic interpretation was concerned. It

is impossible to consider the emancipation of Spanish painting from the traditional methods of the rest of Europe without realizing the entirely unique position which Christianity in Spain occupied, so long as one foot of Spanish territory was occupied by an alien race and an alien religion. It is not generally realized, especially in the north of Europe, that it was not until the very end of the fifteenth century that Granada fell to Ferdinand and Isabel, and that the power of the Moor in Spain was finally broken. These mere historical facts may seem to have very little to do with the development of a national art, but if we bear in mind that Christianity was a fighting faith in Spain of necessity until the sixteenth century, and from choice for nearly two centuries more, and that the power against which it had fought or centuries was one which precluded all religious representation, we shall understand better the natural tendency of the Spaniard in the direction, on the one hand, of reticence, and on the other hand of an outspokenness which, to our milder mood, is positively brutal. So long as the task of the Spaniard was that of enlarging the borders of a united Christendom, he had to be content to use the acknowledged and traditional methods of religious expression which had grown up in more fortunate provinces of the faith, but, once the menace was finally removed, it was only the care of the Church, guarding the natural temperament always against extravagance in expression, which prevented Spanish art from becoming barbaric in its expression of Christianity.

The rise of painting, in fact, could but follow upon the heels of the retreating Muslim, and religious art in Italy and Flanders was already far advanced when Spain was taking her first steps. Catalonia, the earliest freed, took her first lessons from Italy, and only later came into contact with Flemish models; and until well into the fifteenth century, Catalonian painting dominated that of Old Aragon. Castile, long disturbed with war against the infidel, made but slow progress. It was not until the fifteenth century that panel paintings began to appear, and these were almost all the work of foreigners. Some of these, as Nicolás Francés (*fl.* 1430–1468), a Frenchman, worked on the spot, in a manner strongly influenced by the Sienese art of a hundred and fifty years earlier; for Southern French art was still largely under the spell of the work of Simone Martini at Avignon. At León, where the French Gothic architecture of the cathedral was the setting, the sculptures of the cathedral itself supplied many motives to the painter; and at Salamanca a Florentine, Dello, decorated the new cathedral with paintings in 1445. Many panel paintings, also, were imported from Flanders, bringing with

them the influence of Rogier van der Weyden, Memlinc and Van der Goes. If his name is any guide, Jorge Inglés, who painted an altar-piece for the hospital of Buitrago about 1455, may well have been an Englishman; and, in the work of the brothers Gallego (*c.* 1440–1507), the dominant character is that of the Netherlands, almost equally balanced between the Flemish side, in Rogier van der Weyden, and the Dutch, in Dirck Bouts, but with a leaning, quite natural in Spain, towards the greater materialism of the latter. The Gallegos, working at Salamanca, did much to counteract the Italian trend which had preceded them there, and to stimulate the native instinct for vigorous realism; but on the other hand, Pedro Berruguete, working in Toledo and Avila at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, strengthened and continued the Italian influence, so that scarcely any progress towards a truly Spanish School took place. Only in the steady growth of a certain harsh truthfulness can the Spaniard be said to have asserted his national spirit. Spanish painting is still rather a style than a school.

The same sequence of influences operated in Andalusia as elsewhere in Spain, and probably the earliest paintings in Seville, which are markedly Sienese in style, came from Catalonia. Antonio and Diego Sánchez, working at Seville late in the fifteenth century, are almost completely Flemish in their manner, but Spanish in their unsparing realism and dramatic force. There is a fine example of their work, 'Road to Calvary', in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The School of Córdoba, to which Bermejo may have belonged originally, was entirely dominated by the character of van Eyck, and it was not until towards the middle of the sixteenth century that Italian influence reasserted itself, and then in the florid and debased form brought back to Spain by Luis de Vargas (1502–1568), from his twenty-eight years' sojourn in Italy, where he studied principally the work of Raphael and Correggio, without learning to reproduce the grace of the one or the charm of the other.

It was again in Valencia, whence so much that was good in Spanish art had already come, that Hernando Yánez de la Almedina, after study in Italy under Leonardo da Vinci, laid the foundations of truly Spanish painting: for, while he grasped the value of freedom of drawing and grace of form, he infused into his use of these Italian characteristics all the vigour of his native outlook, and, in his colour, struck the note of quiet force which was in time to become the glory of painting in Spain. In his beautiful 'Santa Catalina', now in the collection of the Marquis de Casa-Arquedín, he is literally truthful in his rendering of the smallest

detail, and yet loses nothing of dignity nor of religious feeling: and, at the other side of Spain, in the remote Extremadura, Luis de Morales (1517–1586), a native of Badajoz, was earning the first national reputation among Spanish painters for his deeply emotional renderings of the Dead Christ, and of Our Lady of Sorrows. In drawing of drapery, and in his very limited range of colour, this painter was a careful follower of Italy, but in the depth of his feeling, and in the harshly literal rendering of emaciated features distorted by grief and pain, he was utterly Spanish, as he was also in his use of black as a 'colour', by which all modelling becomes almost sculpturesque, and his figures emerge from shadows as though standing out from darkness into light.

A new era now dawned, in which Spanish painters no longer imitated, but used to their own ends, the foreign models brought together in the magnificent collections of the Emperor Charles V. These were largely Venetian, though the Flemish painters of an earlier day still held their ground among them: and gradually there grew up a kind of divergence of these two main streams of influence, the Flemish supplying the technique and style for portraiture, now coming into a position of national importance through direct royal patronage, and the Italian shaping the development of religious painting.

True, the portrait painter of Charles V was Titian, and his influence is to be traced in much of the Spanish portraiture of the sixteenth century; but when Philip II followed the precedent set by Charles V, and appointed a Court painter, he chose a Fleming, Antony Mor, from whom the Spaniards Alonso Sánchez Coello (? 1513–1590) and Pantoja de la Cruz learned their art. Of these two painters, Coello adhered the more closely to the tenets of his training, in minuteness of finish, and smoothness of technique; but even he, as time went on, lost the warmth of colour and softness of shadow of his Flemish master, and approximated to the silvery coldness and austerity of feeling proper to his nationality and to his patron, Philip II. Pantoja de la Cruz broke away sooner and more thoroughly, for while his earliest work is very Flemish, he was soon using a heavier impasto and a harsher and more vital truthfulness, hitherto unattempted by any artist outside Spain. A little coarse in feeling, his portrait of Philip II, now in America, is, with its bold brushwork and sullen reality, a new thing, owing little to any but native inspiration, while Coello's portrait of Don Carlos (Prado) and that of the Infanta Catalina Micaela, are still, for all their national literalism, thoroughly Flemish in all but spirit.

A contemporary of these painters, Juan Fernández Navarrete

(1526–1579), called 'El Mudo' (the Dumb), exemplifies the continued domination of religious painting by Italy, for he studied in Rome, Naples, Florence, Milan and Venice, and modelled himself avowedly upon Titian. It was quite natural to a Spaniard to follow a Venetian master, for both the Venetian and the Spaniard looked upon religion as part of real life, and visualized it in an everyday setting: and it had this distinct advantage, that it helped the Spaniard to feel and to express his own colour-sense, which tended normally to be rather repressed: and it was also fortunate that, at this precise juncture, the Inquisition stepped in to prevent the Spanish religious painter from lowering the dignity of his art by over-indulgence in a realism which might easily have descended, if unrestrained, to the level of the sordid in form and the picaresque in outlook.

To the discipline of the Church was added the dignity of the Court; and these two stood as sentinels over the national character, which is that of violent emotionalism labouring under strong restraint, through which it breaks from time to time in moments of great stress: and, as restraint too long maintained is liable to produce sullen apathy, it was fortunate that Spanish art should have found at this moment a leader whose genius was so great and his ties with Spain so slender, as to enable him to defy its traditions and its discipline with impunity.

This leader was a Greek of Crete, Domenico Theotocopouli, called in Venice, where he learned his art in the studio of Titian, El Greco, and in Spain, El Griego (*c.* 1548–1614). Coming to Spain some time before 1577, for no reason that can now be guessed, he at once found in Toledo his spiritual home. Though he came as an avowed follower of Titian, whom he echoes vaguely in his great altar-piece 'The Parting of Our Lord's Raiment', in Toledo Cathedral, he broke away immediately from that allegiance, and, in the 'Martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Christian Legion', he gave full rein to his innate passion for the rendering of solid form and of the plastic rather than the pictorial aspect of his subject. The picture was commissioned by Philip II for the Church of the Escorial, but was never hung there, for it violated every known principle of painting and of design, with its harsh and livid colour, violent contrasts of light and shade, and over-modelled and attenuated forms.

In one sense El Greco was a throw-back to the symbolic formalism of his own Byzantine ancestry in art: in another he was a daring innovator. In his great masterpiece, 'The Burial of the Conde de Orgaz' in S. Tomé at Toledo, the row of mourners who form the background of the Count lowered to the grave by

SS. Augustine and Lawrence, produces the impression that the figures in a Byzantine mosaic have suddenly been imbued with life and have revolted against their age-long immobility. The wind of life rustles through them as they turn this way and that, and take each his individual and conscious part in the impressive moment. Yet, for all the tense vitality of this scene, the upper part of the picture, which shows the soul of the Count received into the Divine Presence, is a grotesque and ghastly failure of imagination. It would be absurd to say that El Greco was not imaginative, for he was far more ; he was a visionary : but like the race among whom he made his home, he could not visualize, nor make visible to others, the visions of his spirit, save in terms of things known to his material sense of sight. In this lay his power over Spanish artists and Spanish patrons ; for their limitations were his own, and he could not ask them to take flights that lay beyond their powers ; he could only stimulate them to the effort to go farther and faster along the road to the achievement of truth in art, as they themselves already understood it subconsciously. He could never be ' popular ', but this did not matter, for painting was never a popular art in Spain : nor, perhaps, did he ever achieve complete success, for he wavered between conservatism and adventure all his life, as though he mistrusted his own aims : but at least he showed Spain that truth of vision was above all what it demanded of its artists.

In one respect, however, El Greco went far beyond the national needs and understanding of Spain ; for, though he sought feverishly after the means of realizing the plastic form and atmospheric space in painting, realism was not his aim, but only a means to an end. In all his work there is an inward spirituality, a symbolic intent, that intrigued and baffled his contemporaries, and escaped the notice of his successors altogether. This fiery ecstasy is no mere echo of Italian symbolism and decorative design, but a new thing, that has scarcely found any successor till our own times. No one who has experienced the upward-sweeping force of the stupendous ' Assumption ' in S. Vicente at Toledo can escape the conviction that the painter's material vision was controlled, even distorted, by his desire to convey through material forms the presence of a directing inspiration. This was personal to himself, and the fact that no sign of any such impulse occurs in any purely Spanish painter justifies us in considering that it lay beyond the scope of the Spanish mentality.

Nevertheless, the fact that El Greco was in earnest is the important point, for it is this fact which impresses him upon his

imitators, and followers, and critics alike. From the time of El Greco onwards, Spanish painting endeavoured, as a whole, to be Spanish, that is to say, to be honest, and a new element is imported into Spanish art, in that it becomes the expression of the individual artist's mentality, rather than merely the echo of his foreign technical ancestry. At first sight, it would seem that the influence of El Greco was short-lived, for the next phase that we have to observe is that of a very strongly Italianizing movement, which is not, as might have been expected, a development of his style, but a reaction from it. The great name of the latter half of the sixteenth century, apart from that of El Greco, in Spain itself, is that of Francisco Ribalta (1551–1628), who, in Valencia, painted in the Spanish manner, so far as draughtsmanship and design were concerned, but in the matter of religious and naturalistic outlook is wholly Spanish. His work is characterized by a foretaste of that vaguely human sentiment which becomes later the mark of the School of Seville, although he himself had no affinities with that school. It seems as though the honesty of El Greco had resulted in an acknowledgment of their natural bent by Spanish painters. From this time onward, not only human realism but human sentiment is admitted to the realm of the painter, and Ribalta, in his ' Christ bearing the Cross ', well known in England from its possession by the National Gallery, hovers midway between religious reticence and sentimental outspokenness, presenting both through the medium of a purely Spanish enjoyment of natural but strongly controlled effects of light and shade.

His far more famous pupil, Jusepe de Ribera (1589–1652), carried both aspects of his art far further. Although practising the whole of his life in Naples, in competition and even in savage conflict with the native Neapolitan School, Ribera remained to the end essentially Spanish in his dramatic use of extremes of light and shade, and his relentless representation of the physical aspects of his subject. He is seldom restrained, almost always brutal, and yet never lacks that peculiar quality that the Spaniard seems to inherit as a second nature, of dignity. Though he owed much to that Neapolitan master of chiaroscuro, Caravaggio, he was never an imitator, but always an originator, by his treatment of his theme. Quite early in his career, he produced the terrible St. Bartholomew, now in the Prado, in which the effect is that of a great animated sculpture thrust to within the closest possible focus of the spectator, with at once a sculptural and dramatic effect. Ribera, however, lies outside the true Spanish development, for although he was much imitated, he was never wholly

grasped by his contemporaries in Spain itself, and it is rather in the work of Juan de las Roelas (1558–1625) and Francisco de Herrera, the elder (*c.* 1576–1656), that we must see the true development of Spanish painting.

Although Roelas imitated the Italians on the mechanical side of his art, he has the clumsy honesty of the true Spaniard in his rendering of scenes of emotional and physical stress. His 'Martyrdom of St. Andrew' in the Seville Museum, although reminiscent of the puerilities of Luis de Vargas, in its unimportant detail, is entirely Spanish in its simplicity of the statement of emotion and of passion. Of Herrera the elder it is difficult to speak with patience. He was a painter who, like all his fellow-citizens of Seville, was the prey of every succeeding emotion, and at the same time, was bound down within the absolute limits of the unimaginative outlook upon the material world. His method of painting is as violent as his method of feeling, his composition is childish, his rendering of character is appalling in its actuality. Herrera's composition was as feeble as his characterization was powerful. He had no spirituality, however, but a compelling humanity, and he achieved perhaps even more than El Greco himself, in his fidelity to the living actuality of things seen as he himself chose to see them. He is the bridge between the two greatest personalities in the history of Spanish painting, El Greco and Velázquez, and in many of the compositions of the latter painter, which have become world-famous, we can see the influence, brief but forcible, of his first impetuous master, Herrera.

There is, however, one painter of the seventeenth century, that Golden Age of Spanish art and letters, who stands out as the indicator of the unattainable goal after which the artists of Spain, apart from Velázquez himself, were striving, during the greater part of the seventeenth century, viz. the reconciliation of a tradition derived from foreign sources, with the essential needs of the Spaniard for visional truth, side by side with spiritual honesty. This was Francisco Zurbarán (1598–1662), who, trained in the first instance as a painter of images, saw life from the first as a scheme of light and shadow falling upon immobile material. It is said that Zurbarán never painted any object without having that object actually before him ; and since he had been trained to colour separate plastic objects with separate coatings of distinct colour, it is perfectly easy, in his pictures, to separate one mass from the other, and to see how he has rendered colour in every case, whether in light or shadow, as a mere graduation of distinguishing tone, belonging inseparably to a distinct object. If

it had not been for his instinctive appreciation of the fusing power of light, his work must inevitably have become dull and uninspired, but since Zurbarán aimed, throughout his career, at the presentation not only of actual objects, but also of the atmosphere in which they were enveloped, he may be regarded as the first conscious impressionist in the history of Spanish painting. This seems a strange term to apply to a man whose work is characterized throughout by a singular exactitude in the representation of the individual parts of a subject, but if we consider the degree in which he allowed a predetermined tone, whether of silver or of gold, to dominate every colour and every shade in his picture, we are bound to admit that he is the first of the Spanish painters to convey to us the impression of the visual actuality of the chosen moment.

In this respect, Zurbarán was the successor of El Greco, although their methods are as the poles asunder. His subjects were, for the most part, wholly material and realistic, court ladies in the character of saints (a fashionable freak of the moment), such as his court lady in the character of St. Margaret, in the National Gallery ; vast state portraits, such as the Gonzalo de Illecas, Bishop of Córdoba, at Guadalupe, devoid entirely of formality, and yet full of stateliness,—the natural stateliness of the utterly truthful Spaniard—and clumsy but entirely convincing angels, like the Gabriel at Montpellier, are sufficient to show Zurbarán in the character of a Spaniard of the Spaniards, using but never succumbing to every foreign example within his knowledge, in turning them into a truly Spanish expression of real life, real light, real atmosphere and real feeling.

This is especially well shown in Zurbarán's monastic subjects, such as the Franciscan Friar praying, which is one of the greatest Spanish pictures in the National Gallery, for in such subjects there is no superficial charm, whether of colour or of form,—the picture depends upon the intensity of feeling and upon the utilization of every scrap of incidental beauty in the play of light and shadow ; and in the example mentioned, it is solely on account of these characteristics that the picture compels attention. The figure emerges from the dark background with dramatic suddenness of contrast, and the whole of the light is concentrated upon the hands grasped with a fervour which is almost hysterical in its intensity, and astonishing in the manner of its presentation.

Thus we come back to the abiding characteristic of the fully developed Spanish painting, namely the unending search for absolute truth in presentation of the visible world ; and the name which is associated with the greatest progress in this direction is

that of Diego Rodríguez da Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), who, like Zurbarán, began his career in the School of Seville, and, studying first under the elder Herrera, learned perhaps no more than enthusiasm, and later under Pacheco, eventually his father-in-law, learned perhaps no more than scholarship, but who contained in himself a frankness and simplicity of outlook upon the purpose of his art which carried him two centuries beyond his time. Velázquez was not only a draughtsman, but he was a draughtsman in three dimensions, that is to say, that from the very first he sought to portray not only the objects before him, but the space in which they were set, not merely laterally, but in the matter of depth also. Atmosphere was included in his natural vision.

His earliest works are for the most part *bodegones*, that is to say, interiors crowded with objects mostly of the kitchen, and containing figures merely to give a *raison d'être* to the whole. These were no more than drawing exercises, or rather exercises in the accommodation of draughtsmanship to vision. Laborious studies of peasant types engaged in culinary operations do not seem to be inspired subjects for one who was to be a great pioneer in the art of painting, but they served this purpose, that they enabled Velázquez to set down upon his canvas, stroke by stroke, patch of colour by patch of colour, the actual things that he saw in front of him. These, like his figure studies in the studio of Pacheco, are hard and brilliant in execution, but entirely lacking in either spiritual or mental outlook. They served merely to give him complete command of his materials, and of his accommodation of their use to his use of his eyes. They stand in relation to the main stream of his art exactly as the practising of scales stands to the finished art of the pianist.

When, in 1623, Velázquez, on his second visit to Madrid, was introduced to the patronage of King Philip IV, he was already the master of his craft, and was so certain in his reproduction of the things seen that he was able to produce at once a portrait of the young King which secured for him the position of Court painter, which he held for the rest of his life. There could be no more tranquil or at the same time more exacting setting for his life-work. The artist who in Seville had painted such pictures as the ' Christ in the House of Martha and Mary ', which now hangs in the National Gallery, with its careful rendering of fish, vegetables and kitchen utensils, and its uninspired but at the same time wholly colloquial rendering of peasant types, had been unconsciously equipped for his new task and his new surroundings by the thoroughness with which he had undergone his apprenticeship

in Seville. Broadly speaking, his work can be divided into three sections: the first, that which preceded his first visit to Italy in 1629, the second, that of the period between 1629 and 1648, the date of his second visit to Italy, and the final period from 1649 to his death. The first period is one in which the painter was constantly striving after the reproduction upon canvas of the solidity of form, but without grasping the fact that in order to represent with absolute fidelity things seen by the human eye, the presentation of them must reproduce not only the accuracy, but also the inaccuracy of human vision. To put it more simply, Velázquez did not realize, in this first stage of his art, that the human eye can only see one thing at a time, and consequently, he endeavoured, by meticulous detail throughout the whole of his subject, to reproduce everything that was in front of him. The result is the development of a remarkable power of characterization (in which perhaps we have the echo of the teaching of his first master, Herrera) but a complete lack of grasp of the first principles of tridimensional composition. Two outstanding examples will suffice to illustrate this phase, namely, 'The Water Carrier of Seville', now in the collection of the Duke of Wellington, which seeks to represent the recession of vision by laying the strongest possible emphasis upon a single point of light, where it falls upon the goblet of water in the centre of the picture, and while sacrificing nothing of detail, subordinating in strength of contrast the whole of the rest of the picture to this one point; and second, the picture upon which he was engaged when the visit of Rubens in 1629 to Madrid fortunately occurred to make a turning-point in his career. This picture was 'Los Borrachos' ('The Topers' or 'The Village Bacchus'), in which a row of scoundrelly villagers pay mock homage to a semi-nude youth in their midst, who is very self-consciously wearing a crown of vine leaves, and holding a glass of wine in his hand. The picture falls to pieces by the very power of its individual parts. Every single face in it is a brilliant portrait, and an astounding piece of character-revelation, but since the eye must focus separately upon each of these faces, there is no unity about the composition as a whole. The colour is sombre and all the values of the picture are determined in terms of light and shade, and although an earnest attempt has been made to represent distance from front to back of the composition, this object has not been achieved, and the picture is a flat row of faces. On the advice of Rubens, and with the grudging permission of Philip IV, Velázquez now spent two years in Italy, and it is rather surprising to find that his principal preoccupation was not with the works of Michelangelo or of Raphael, then univers-

ally esteemed in Spain, but rather with those of Venetian painters, more especially of Titian, though it is certain that the work of Tintoretto must have impressed him profoundly, by reason of its masterly and dramatic handling of light and shadow. Towards the close of this visit to Italy, when Velázquez was suffering from the climate and from overwork, he made the two wonderful sketches (now in the Prado) of the gardens of the Villa Medici, which must have been to him a self-revelation in the painting of atmospheric space. It seems as though in these pictures he had at last grasped the fact that to paint exactly what one sees, one must paint only what one sees, and not what one knows is there. It was so tremendous a discovery, that in his finished pictures it still had relatively little effect, though in the ' Apollo bringing News to Vulcan of the Infidelity of Venus ', and in the ' Joseph's Coat ' in the Escorial, there is a tremendous advance on the single-plane composition of ' Los Borrachos ' and a corresponding gain in actuality of presentation. The former of these pictures at the same time reveals the weakness which neither Velázquez nor any Spanish painter has ever overcome, namely, that of lack of imagination, for the Apollo is nothing more than a rather clumsy peasant model, and there is a certain pedestrian quality in the attempt of Velázquez at the higher flights of imagination, which is more clearly still exemplified in the beautiful picture of the ' Vision of St. Bridget ', now in the National Gallery, in which, while the passionate sympathy of the infant St. Bridget for the suffering of Our Lord seems almost materialized in the single flash of light which stabs the space of centuries of shadow across the picture, the angel who supports the saint is no more than a very stodgy model dressed in serge, and encumbered by a pair of rather furtive wings, tucked away in the shadows of the corner of the picture. Here, then, we have an epitome both of the aims and the limitations of Velázquez, and so of the highest manifestation of Spanish art, and it is a matter for satisfaction that this great craftsman, endowed with the most marvellous eyesight, perhaps, in the world, should have had to spend his life in painting portraits, for this was the thing for which he was most superlatively qualified. In that short period of his seeming retirement, which followed the disgrace of his first patron, the Conde-Duque de Olivares, when he was momentarily freed from the duty of painting royal personages, and was able to exercise his art upon models chosen at his will, he produced that wonderful series of portraits of the court dwarfs, of which the ' Niño de Vallecas ' and the ' Don Juan ' are the most outstanding examples, and was not restrained from free experiment by any undue sense of respect for his sitter ;

and it is in these and in such pictures as the ' Aesop ', and the portrait of his friend, the sculptor Martínez Montañés (the latter painted in 1648), that his genius finds full rein. In these, as it were, day by day, the brush strikes more boldly to match the patch of light or shadow, sharp or blurred, which fell upon the mirror of his eye, and so transferred to the canvas, as though it too were a mirror in which the forms were reflected ; and if we look back to the beginning of his career for a moment, and realize that in the background of his picture ' Christ in the House of Martha and Mary ' there hangs a mirror upon whose surface is reflected the group of Christ and the Sisters, dim and blurred, in contrast with the sharp drawing of the figures and objects in the foreground, we shall realize that the development of Velázquez was not accidental, but slowly and painfully deliberate ; that, from the very first, he had set himself the task of treating his canvas as the mirror of the world, which he set it up to portray.

The last phase is that in which he finally achieved his object, the simple object of painting empty space. It must have become obvious to Velázquez, in his lifetime as a Court painter, that one must not count upon finding beauty ready-made in one's subjects, for the physical contours of the King and of the Court gave no encouragement to any such ideas. It was rather in the abstract pleasures of light and shadow, fused and merging colour, that beauty lay. The dwarf pictures were a deliberate testing of a theory evolved from these conditions. The mirror in the early picture is found again in the ' Venus ' painted about 1649, and here again we have the contrast between direct and indirect vision emphasized. The portrait of the Princess Margarita Teresa, for all its glimmer of grey, and rose and silver, and the soft gold of the Princess's hair, depends for its greatness, and perhaps almost for its beauty as well, upon the dusky shadows of the background, and upon the real emptiness which exists behind the figure, and in ' Las Hilanderas ' and ' Las Meninas ' we find the consummation of a life's work, for both of these pictures are pictures which accidentally possess a subject, the first of the spinners in a royal tapestry factory, and the second that of a naughty little princess who needed a deal of coaxing before she would consent to stand for her portrait, but in fact, are no more and no less than pictures of the movement of light in space. In the former, the light marches like an invading flood, from the brilliantly lit further room in the background to the dusky room in the foreground, and in the second, the light is reflected directly on to the foreground group from the vast mirror that it faces, and that reflects in its surface (and so upon the canvas) even the

canvas and the painter themselves as well. It filters in from the curtained windows at the side, it glares from the open door and gleams from the mirror in the background, and these invading streams of light meet upon a central resistance of darkness, a dusky cloud in the middle distance, which was what the artist had set himself to paint.

Velázquez, whose conditions of service as Court painter precluded him from painting for money outside that service, was enabled by this limitation to practise his art as a student all his life ; and, gifted with the patience and the vision which are necessary to research, he progressed far beyond all his contemporaries in the discovery and understanding of the basic principles of impressionistic art. Consequently, though he had several imitators, to whom we shall turn presently, he left no real successors, and it was not until almost a century had passed, that a Spanish painter was found to carry forward by a single step the development of a national art.

It was rather in Seville, and in the hands of a younger contemporary of Velázquez, Esteban Murillo, that the continuity of Spanish painting with the traditional Italian and Flemish influences of its early days was preserved and carried forward. Sometimes it is Ribera, sometimes van Dyck, whose influence predominates ; sometimes it is the literal brutality of the Spaniard, as in ' El Tinoso ', the picture in which Murillo has portrayed St. Elizabeth in the act of cleansing the hair of a verminous child ; sometimes it is the gentle dignity of the Andalusian, as in the ' Holy Family ' in the National Gallery, that holds the field ; and again, after a visit to Madrid at the age of twenty-four, when Velázquez helped and encouraged him, he shows a delight in the accidental beauty and lively humour of common life, as exemplified in the ' Melon Eaters ', and many another picture of smiling ragamuffins of the streets of Seville. In all his work, Murillo seeks the lively, the suave, the pleasurable aspect of life, of light and of colour. His is the only art of Spain that approaches laughter, as it is alone, too, in its tenderness. His many renderings of the Immaculate Conception are full of sweetness, but wholly lacking in depth : they are sincere, but a little flighty.

To find the real Murillo, we must turn to the peasant subjects in the Dulwich Gallery, for example, ' The Two Peasant Boys ', or ' The Spanish Flower Girl ', or to the famous ' Boy Drinking ' in the National Gallery, or the marvellous group of similar subjects, including ' The Melon Eaters ' at Munich. In these renderings of the vitality and mentality of the back street, Murillo is at his best and most characteristic. In such subjects,

all his natural instinct to capture the adventitious beauty of sunshine and shadow is brought out to the full, and his rendering of instantaneous mood and fleeting expression places him in a category all by himself in the history of Spanish painting. He is the very embodiment in material terms of the picaresque, the modern novel of manners, and bad manners at that. In passing, it is worth note that the Spanish painter, if he is worthy of remembrance at all, is worthy of that remembrance for some aspect of unrelenting truthfulness. Murillo was perfectly truthful to the sentimentally religious outlook of his patrons of the Seville marketplace, and he was equally true to their peculiar sensibility to the picturesque in the common accidents of their own everyday life. It is a question worthy of speculation and even of serious investigation as to the extent of the influence of contemporary Dutch painting upon that of Spain, for it must be remembered that at the moment that Murillo was producing his most convincing subjects of low life, Brouwer and Van Ostade were rendering the same aspect of the life of the newly liberated states of Holland, and that Dutch artists, in spite of political convulsion, were present and painting in Spain and even in Seville during the period of his greatest activity. It is not at all unlikely that in the work of Murillo we see the reflection of the contemporary democratic and nationally constructive movement which was taking place in Holland, and from this aspect alone we must regard Murillo as at least as important in the history of Spanish painting as Velázquez himself.

It has often been a matter for conjecture why, after such a brilliant outburst of visually inspired production as that of Velázquez and Murillo, the art of Spain should have subsided into the deadly mediocrity of the latter part of the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth century. But it seems evident that painters of Murillo's naïve and honest sentimentality must necessarily be rare in a nationality so reserved in temperament as the Spanish, and that therefore until sentimentality could be combined not only with virility but actually with something approaching brutality, it was impossible to hope that it should produce any further notable development in the representative art of so reticent a people. It would be idle to fill pages with the undoubtedly competent productions of del Mazo, the son-in-law and pupil of Velázquez, for his work was nothing more than a gradual deterioration from the misunderstood principles of his master. A journeyman cannot continue the work of a genius, and while del Mazo might and did quite competently continue the manner of Velázquez, in the first instance so competently

as actually to cause some confusion to critics of the present day, between his works and those of the greater man, it is manifestly not to be expected that he should, with his narrow technical and mental limitations, carry the art of Velázquez even the smallest stage further. Nor did the florid Italianisms of Valdés Leal add much to the credit of Spanish painting. While his sense of colour was perhaps more varied and more superficially attractive than that of Velázquez, he was so obviously an echo, both in technique and intention, of a foreign school, as scarcely to count at all in a consideration of Spanish art, and it is not until the eighteenth century is already well advanced that we find the dismal hiatus in the development of Spain, as a painting nation, closed by the production of a painter who had not only a hand but a mind.

Francisco Goya y Lucientes was born on March 30, 1746, in the little village of Fuente de Todos, not far from Zaragoza. The story of his stormy life has been so often and so well told that it would be a waste of time to recapitulate it here. We need but visualize a painter who, bully, toreador, duellist, bravo, and criminal by turns, was a painter by instinct, a cynic by necessity, and a brute by choice, to understand the extraordinary and inexhaustible vitality of an art which, like that of Velázquez, owed nothing slavishly to history and flung to its contemporaries what they could not understand, and to posterity what it only very slowly learned to use.

Like Velázquez, Goya is a monument of national character, but how different an aspect of that national character! What was in Velázquez slow determination was in Goya impatient insolence; what was in Velázquez direct and coldly analysed vision—vision, that is, of the physical eye, without emotion or imagination to distort it—was in Goya translation into the inexorable facts of form and light and shadow, of a fierce and almost angry personal view of life. After the various vicissitudes which carried him from Zaragoza to Madrid, from Madrid to Rome and from Rome back to Spain, with a trail of violence and lawlessness behind him, he becomes at last acknowledged and settled as the designer of tapestries in the royal factory, and with an aptitude which smells strongly of cynical impudence, models himself for that decorative purpose upon the frivolities of Fragonard. 'The Swing', 'Blind Man's Buff', 'The Greasy Pole' and such productions of this period reveal Goya as a strong man playing at being a Sunday School child, and contrary to all reasonable expectation, not failing therein, but revealing the sinister possibilities of his undeveloped rôle. Goya, as Court painter to a King whom he despised, shows us to what heights ribald disregard of the

decencies of his employment could rise, for, in his portrait group of the King in the midst of his family, he painted the most pitiful, because it is the most dignified, caricature in the history of art. Goya as the patriot raging against the obscene brutalities of the 'Dos de Mayo', reveals, with a terrible suddenness and intensity, the awful latent strength of a Spaniard in the days of Spain's torture and humiliation; and as an etcher, in 'Los Caprichos', he tears humanity to tatters with a laugh that hurts.

As his life wore on, and first socially and then politically he was driven slowly from the centre to which his Spanish instinct and his Spanish inspiration clung, he left behind him, one after another, milestones of that undying vitality of his, which enabled him, even in exile in Bordeaux, still to produce an art which, for vigour, for simplicity and for cruelty, is unmatched in the history of painting.

Goya could paint a polite portrait, as for example, that of the Duchess of Alba in the Liria Palace at Madrid. He could paint an insolent portrait, like those of the 'Maja Vestida', and its astounding echo, the 'Maja Desnuda',—which are equally portraits of the Duchess of Alba. He could paint a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which revealed that great Englishman to us in an utterly un-English light, and in which yet we cannot find any direct or deliberate untruth; and he could almost in the same breath, turn to the production of some astounding plate such as the 'Mala Noche' in 'Los Caprichos', one of the most wonderful balances of light and dark in the whole history of monochrome art. Goya was such a giant that we can forgive him the bestialities of giantry, such as 'Saturn devouring his Children', the picture he painted for his dining-room, for his own beastly delectation; and we can understand in him the infinite pity, the tremendous sorrow which he expresses in 'The Pesthouse' or 'The Prison' in the Bowes Museum.

As at the beginning, so in this, the last really outstanding and national manifestation of the Spanish artistic spirit in painting, truth as the artist sees it is the only consideration, and for this reason it would be idle to carry the story of Spanish painting further. This is not to say that there have not been in the nineteenth century many painters, and some striking painters, in Spain, but it is to say that during the whole of the nineteenth century and so far as the present writer is aware, down to the very present day, there has been no painter in Spain who so relentlessly and so completely expressed the Spanish character as did Velázquez at the one end of the scale, and Goya at the other. It is perfectly true that the work of Mariano Fortuny, with its clear

colour and completely dramatic handling of light and shadow, has something of the Spanish spirit, and that the host of more than competent, even dramatically striking Spanish painters of history, such as Carbonero, Lorenzo Valles, Francisco Pradilla, and Checa y Sanz, have contributed very honourably to the history of Spanish painting. But they have not contributed to its development for the simple reason that there has never been and there never will be any development of Spanish painting in the direct sense of the word. From time to time, Spain has produced, and from time to time Spain will produce, great painters, but they never have had and they never will have any antecedents or any successors.

Of modern painters in Spain, probably the two most expressive of their national outlook are Zuloaga and Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida. In the former, vigorous design and careless, almost crude colour combine with a drawing of masses and alternate planes of light, almost comparable, and certainly referable, to the tradition of Velázquez ; and in the latter, a singular felicity in design and an extraordinarily telling and dramatic placing of colour are in each case combined with a kind of simplicity, a kind of obviousness, which ask nothing of the imagination, but demand everything of the observation. To know your Spanish painter of to-day, you must know your Spain, and to know your Spain is not to know it, as so many travelling painters have known it, from the outside, from the point of view of the northern colour sense, which has given David Roberts, Frank Brangwyn and Bertram Nicholls their peculiar outlook upon colour and modelling and design, each in his own kind utterly different from the other and each utterly absorbed in Spain ; but it is to know Spain from the inside, and to realize that the colourlessness of form is not to be translated into terms of a delicate scale of browns or a glorious movement of orange and purple, or a dainty device of line and light, but that it is in itself irredeemably and dreadfully harsh. Zuloaga and Sorolla y Bastida have achieved this ; Fortuny adumbrated it ; but all three lose in force what they have gained by insistence upon action in their subjects, and the ' Bull Ring ' of Fortuny, and the smiling, one might say jesting, peasants of Zuloaga, actually distract the attention by their violence of movement or of expression, from the real beauties of the form in which they are presented to us by artists who are equally, though less forcibly, with Goya and Velázquez, Spaniards of Spain.

There is little to be added to this apparently slighting résumé of the movements of modern Spanish art. We may look any day, every day, for a genius to arise comparable to Velázquez and

Goya. He may not come in our time, but when he comes he will owe little more than a common nationality and a common outlook to any of his predecessors, and to his successors he will stand out a tower as unapproachable as the walls of Ávila, set steel-grey against the sunset.

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CHAPTER VII

SPANISH ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

THE story of Spanish architecture and sculpture begins with the Visigothic occupation of the Peninsula in the second half of the fifth century, A.D. But the legacy of Rome was considerable, and Visigothic architecture—crude as it may be—is so evidently a provincial variation of West Roman or East Roman, or both, that such monuments of the Empire as still survive in Spain must be mentioned here.

Toledo, Cádiz, Salamanca, Zaragoza, Seville and Córdoba are all Roman in origin, but the city that has yielded most is Mérida, the ancient *Augusta Emerita*, where the remains include a bridge over half a mile in length containing several of the original piers, and a theatre. The two chief Roman monuments in Spain are, however, the great bridge at Alcántara and the aqueduct at Segovia. The former carried the military road over the rocky gorge of the Tagus, in the modern province of Cáceres, and has been in use continuously ever since it was built by the architect Julius Lacer in A.D. 105. This is one of the earliest buildings in which both the date of erection and the architect's name are inscribed on the structure. It is generally regarded as the finest example extant of a Roman bridge and may well have aroused the admiration of the Arab invaders, who gave it the generic title that one finds in many parts of their former dominions, for *Al-Kántara* means simply 'the bridge'. The Spanish example is over 600 feet long and rises 180 feet above the river. Of its six arches the two central ones have a span of about 100 feet. It is built of large masonry blocks without mortar and still retains its original pavement. Beautifully proportioned, yet massive and severe, it merits the proud boast of its designer: *Pontem perpetui mansurum in saecula mundi fecit divina nobilis arte Lacer.*

The colossal aqueduct at Segovia, rivalled only by the Pont du Gard at Nîmes and commonly called *el puente del Diablo*, was built by Trajan and still provides the city with water from the mountains ten miles away. Built of rough granite blocks with-

out mortar, it is 2,700 feet long and 132 feet high in the centre, where the arches rise 95 feet. Unlike the Pont du Gard, where there is one range of small arches above two ranges of wide ones, at Segovia there are only two ranges of arches and they are of approximately equal width, but the piers between them are rather clumsily diminished in size by means of steps or 'set-offs' as they rise. In spite of this crude expedient, the whole effect is graceful as well as massive, and the relation of the upper to the lower arcade is most happily proportioned.

Although only these two of the Roman monuments surviving in Spain are of outstanding importance, they must be reckoned among the factors which went to form a native Spanish style of architecture in later centuries. The few remaining examples of Roman sculpture have had little effect on the development of that art in Spain.

Visigothic architecture in Spain has been the subject of violent controversy. Very little of it remains, yet the few tiny churches still standing and the fragments of sculptured detail preserved in museums have considerable importance in the history of Spanish art. The 'barbarian' Visigoths who had swept over Europe from the Baltic plains to the Black Sea, and then, in forty years, from the Danube to the Ebro, made their Spanish capital in Toledo, where they seem to have attained a high standard in some of the minor crafts. In Spain they built a number of Christian churches until the Muslim invasion of 711 drove them into the mountain fastnesses of Asturias near the northern coast, where they continued to maintain their religious faith and their architecture in spite of the Muhammadan conquerors.

Many small churches, scattered all over the Peninsula, have been described as Visigothic by one writer and another, but of these not more than a dozen merit serious consideration, and some of them are mere fragments. Thus Rivoira, who is the most disinclined of all critics to allow any architectural genius to the Visigoths, only admits the antiquity of the little ruined church at Elche, a part of S. Cristo de la Luz at Toledo, and possibly the crypt of the cathedral at Palencia. But other authorities with a cautious and conservative outlook are disposed to accept a list of genuine Visigothic churches which includes the ruined basilica of Segóbriga at Cabeza del Griego (prov. Cuenca), S. Juan de Baños de Cerrato near Palencia, S. Comba de Bande in southern Galicia, and S. Miguel at Tarrasa, near Barcelona, as well as the three already mentioned, and perhaps S. Pedro de la Nave (prov. Zamora) and S. María de Melque, south of Toledo.

All these nine churches are attributed to a period between the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the eighth. But Segóbriga and Elche are ruined, and neither the Palencia crypt nor the Toledo fragment permit of much architectural speculation. This leaves us with not more than five churches from which to generalize on the nature of Visigothic art. They are all small, rudely built, and difficult of access, for only modest buildings in inaccessible places could have survived the tide of destruction that followed in the wake of religious wars which ravaged Spain for centuries. S. Juan de Baños originally seems to have been a small basilican church with an external colonnade on three sides and a projecting eastern transept. The churches of Bande, Nave, S. Miguel and Melque have a common characteristic : their plan is of the so-called ' Greek cross ' form, though at Nave and S. Miguel the Greek cross is inscribed within a square, so that its shape is not very evident at first glance. Now this ' Greek cross ' plan, which Wren intended to use at S. Paul's and Bramante at S. Peter's (though both were frustrated), generally results in a piling-up of masses buttressing a central tower or dome over the ' crossing ' of the four arms, and in more than one of these tiny churches this remarkable effect is to be seen. Rivoira contends that it is not Greek, that it is a purely Roman invention. The question is whether the Visigothic art of Spain was derived from an Eastern source—Byzantium, Syria, Armenia, or beyond—where such building is found, or from Rome. Here we must leave it unsolved, merely remarking that the evidence for Eastern origin is strong.

Still more obscure is the truth about the so-called ' horseshoe ' arch which appears in these Visigothic churches. Many writers hold that this was a Spanish discovery, but Rivoira again denies it. He argues that the Muslims first used it in the mosque at Damascus early in the eighth century, just about the time of the conquest of Spain. But though he admits the use of horseshoe arches in India centuries before this, he does not credit the Visigoths with the ability to evolve a similar form. There are two kinds of ' horseshoe ' arch, one pointed and one segmental. The Visigoths used the latter form, an arch forming nearly three-quarters of a circle, and, unless one accepts Rivoira,—a voice crying in the wilderness,—one must believe that they invented it themselves or borrowed it from India : either is possible.

For the rest, these little churches are stark plain, and such carved ornament as they possess is of debased Roman type. The capitals of their columns, as well as the rude shafts, are often borrowed from some Roman ruin, but there are Visigothic

capitals of barbaric Corinthian type, dating from the fifth or sixth century, in the churches of S. Eulalia and S. Sebastián at Toledo, in S. Miguel at Tarrasa, in S. Pedro de la Nave, and probably in S. Juan de Baños. Beyond these, there is very little sculpture or carved detail surviving, but in the little Nave church, and among the fragments in the museum at Mérida, we can recognize familiar Christian symbols and realize the strength of Byzantine influence.

When the Arab general Tārik invaded Spain in 711, the country was pacific and comparatively civilized. It is sometimes suggested that the Arabs brought to the peoples they conquered nothing more than the scimitar and the Koran. Let us consider whether, at that period, they had developed an architecture of their own worth mention. Of their buildings that can be definitely assigned to a date earlier than 711, the 'Dome of the Rock' at Jerusalem is so palpably based on Christian types as to be hardly a mosque at all, the Mosque of Al-Aqsà at Jerusalem was built on the site of a church and has been altered again and again, the early mosques of Mecca, Medina, Kairawān and Cairo have been largely rebuilt, that at Kūfah has perished, the mosque of Ukhaidir was barely finished, and that at Damascus had just been begun.

Up to this date, Arab architecture had produced nothing more than the plan of the congregational mosque: a covered colonnade round a rectangular court (the *sahn*), and on the side towards Mecca a deep covered sanctuary, the *līwān*, formed of several colonnades. In the Mecca wall of the *līwān* was a niche, the *mihrāb*, indicating the direction of the holy city. There was generally a pulpit, the *mimbar*, and facilities for ceremonial ablution. But no definitely new architectural forms had yet been evolved by these busy missionary-warriors; they freely utilized the services of native architects in the countries that they conquered, and as readily they rifled Roman ruins of columns and capitals to support the plain timber roofs of their mosques.

In 786, Abd ar-Rahman I, first of the Western caliphs, laid the foundation of the Great Mosque of Córdoba (now the cathedral). Córdoba had become the Muslim capital of Spain, and this mosque is not only the most important Muhammadan building in that country but one of the most interesting, and certainly one of the most curious, of surviving masterpieces of Arab architecture. Its erection was spread over more than two centuries, for enlargements took place up to the time of Al-Mansur (977–1002); and it was considerably altered after the city fell into Christian hands (1236), when it became a cathedral.

The original plan consisted of a *sahn*—still an open court or garden—surrounded by colonnades, and at the Mecca end a deep *līwān* or covered sanctuary, formed of eleven aisles, of which the central one, leading up to the *mihrāb*, was wider than the rest. These eleven aisles were extended southwards in later years, and then eight more aisles were added west of them; so that the whole block of buildings now consists of nineteen aisles, besides the enlarged courtyard in front of the sanctuary. The aisles are separated by rows of columns, over 600 in all, rifled from earlier Roman or Visigothic buildings. Therefore, as in so many early mosques, we find that capitals and columns often do not fit each other, and they have been clumsily adapted to their purpose. But, from the capitals upwards, we have pure Saracenic—or as it is commonly called in these Spanish buildings, 'Moorish'—architecture. From the tops of the columns rise horseshoe arches, their striking form accentuated by the red and white stones forming their alternate voussoirs, and above each of these arches rises another arch, this time semicircular but built of the same parti-coloured masonry. The object of the second tier of arches was to give an internal height proportionate to the great area of the mosque. On the upper arches originally rested a flat roof formed of carved wooden beams, but to-day we find only a small portion of this roof, and that a modern restoration. All the remaining aisles are spanned by light brick vaults, erected in 1713. The original minaret of the mosque was only 40 cubits high; it perished in an earthquake in 860.

The enormous covered area of the mosque as we now see it, some 400 feet each way, divided into nineteen parallel aisles with thirty-three arches in each aisle, has lost some of its original simplicity through later additions, but still retains—up to the roof level—its original form to a great extent. The horseshoe arches and their striped masonry are characteristic of Saracen taste, though neither feature is so universally used as is commonly supposed. But the mosque at Córdoba has other features that are entirely its own. The *mihrāb*, normally a niche indicating the direction of Mecca, in this case has the unique form of an octagonal chamber, without any external means of lighting, and richly decorated in marble. Its roof or ceiling consists of a single block of marble, about 13 feet in diameter, carved out into the form of a shell.

This is, undoubtedly, one of the marvels of Moorish art, but hardly less wonderful are the intricate cupolas formed of interlacing stone ribs over the three bays of the *maqsurah*, or enclosed space in front of the *mihrāb*; and the 'Chapel of S. Fernando', or

' Chapel of Villaviciosa ', ascribed by Rivoira to the tenth century, by some other writers to a much later date. One bay of the *maqsurah* is enclosed by an intricate pierced marble screen on which is carved the name of its designer, one Bedr. Among special features of this mosque,—besides the interlacing ribs of the cupolas, already mentioned,—there are multifoil or cusped arches (centuries before we find them in English Gothic), and intersecting arches. The great battlemented and fortress-like exterior of the building is characteristic of all early mosques.

Outside Córdoba there are a few considerable works of early Moorish architecture, but nothing to compare with the great monument just described. There is the Aljafería at Zaragoza (eleventh century), the Puerta Visagra (ninth century) and the Puerta del Sol at Toledo, perhaps two small mosques in the same city, and a number of minor examples here and there.

Sculpture as commonly understood, that is, figure sculpture, was forbidden to the Muslims, and such carved ornament as we find in their chief buildings is based on floral or geometrical motives,—hence our term ' arabesque '. The later Muhammadan architecture of Spain, including the Alcázar of Seville, and the Alhambra, will be referred to at a later stage in this chapter.

We must now return to the development of Christian church-architecture in the mountain kingdom of Asturias, where the Visigothic inhabitants had retreated as a refuge from the Arab invaders at the beginning of the eighth century. Their capital was established at Oviedo, and five of the ten surviving churches of this period (*c.* 715–*c.* 915) are to be found within that city or its immediate neighbourhood, while the remaining five are situated within a radius of 30 miles from its walls. There was an active church-building movement in the city under Alfonso the Chaste at the beginning of the ninth century, the king's architect being Tioda the Goth. Several of his works have since perished, but of those remaining may be mentioned the churches of S. Tirso and S. Miguel at Oviedo, and of S. Julián de los Prados at Santullano near by. The first retains little more than its original basilican plan, the second is a mere fragment, but S. Julián is almost intact and is characteristic of the Asturian style. It is an aisled church—that is, a basilica,—but it has a narthex or portico across its western end, a transept, and three square-ended ' apses ' at the east end. Strictly speaking, an apse has a round end, but perhaps Tioda's skill was unequal to this form, which we should expect to find in Italy at that period, and the square-ended sanctuary with flanking chapels is the usual type in Spain. The next group of churches—S. María de Naranco

(848) near Oviedo, S. Cristina de Lena, and S. Miguel de Lino close to Naranco—appear to be the work of one architect, whose name is unknown, but were erected in the reign of Ramiro I (842–850). They form as remarkable a trio as any part of Europe can show from these 'Dark Ages', and have their parallel only in Asia Minor and Syria. It seems certain that travellers and probably craftsmen came from those countries to Spain along the well-worn Mediterranean trade-route. Naranco was rightly regarded as a miracle of architecture in its own day, for it is completely vaulted in stone, perhaps on account of the Norman raiders who descended on the coast in 843 and were likely to destroy any church with an inflammable timber roof. It consists of a barrel-vaulted crypt, and above it a lofty though narrow church with a ribbed barrel vault. There are external buttresses, beautiful *ajimez* windows (pierced stone slabs), and clusters of spirally-fluted columns carrying the main arches. S. Cristina is smaller, but of the same type, and has a wonderful *iconostasis* or stone screen in the position of a rood-screen, absolutely Syrian in type. S. Miguel de Lino is also small, but has excellent *ajimeces*, and is a fine bit of grouping, rising up to a central cupola in the Byzantine way. S. Salvador at Val de Dios (892) is another example. All these Asturian churches have square-ended 'apses' and round arches (not horseshoe) are employed. Buttresses are freely used, and stone barrel-vaulting. The *iconostasis* and the *ajimez* are characteristic features.

The next stage in the development of Spanish architecture was due to the exodus of Christian monks and craftsmen from the Moorish cities, especially Córdoba, to the northern districts at the beginning of the ninth century. By this time Northern Spain was throwing off the Muslim yoke, and León had replaced Oviedo as the capital. It is, therefore, in the province of León that we find most examples of this 'Mozarabic' or Christian-Moorish style that held the field till the coming of Romanesque about the middle of the eleventh century, though there are others in Galicia, Asturias, Castile and Catalonia.

Of the dozen or so of Mozarabic churches that have survived, the best preserved are small, and situated in inaccessible places, thus escaping the wars that devastated Northern Spain during the Middle Ages. Chief among them are S. Miguel de Escalada (913), S. Cebrián de Mazote (? 916), Santiago de Peñalba (*c.* 937), and S. María de Bamba, all in the province of León; S. Miguel de Celanova (*c.* 937) in Galicia; S. María de Lebeña (*c.* 924) in the province of Santander; S. Millán de la Cogolla (929) and S. Baudelio de Berlanga (? eleventh century) in Castile; S. Pablo

del Campo (*c.* 914) and S. Pedro de las Puellas (945) at Barcelona, as well as three small churches in other parts of Catalonia. The two churches at Barcelona have been largely rebuilt, but S. Pablo retains its rounded apses with Lombard arcading. The other Mozarabic churches have the sanctuary of the Asturian type, square-ended outside ; but the inside is often rounded.

The most characteristic feature of Mozarabic architecture is the horseshoe arch, used almost everywhere, and probably borrowed from the Moors, though those people who believe that the Visigoths invented the horseshoe arch independently dispute this. If their view is correct, it is difficult to understand why the round arch was used invariably in the Asturian churches of the ninth century. Other striking features of the style are groined vaulting, projecting eaves carried on bold stone brackets, and some remarkable fluted domes and semi-domes,—notably at S. Miguel de Escalada and Santiago de Peñalba. The most interesting vaulting is at S. Baudelio de Berlanga. Ordinary barrel-vaulting continued in use, also the *iconostasis* and the *ajimez* window. The Visigothic, Asturian, and Mozarabic phases of Spanish architecture thus form a logical and interesting sequence.

Lampérez, a leading authority on Spanish architecture, has well said that ' Spanish art is alluvial ', by which he means that each flood of invasion brought into the country a fresh deposit to overlay the past. Perhaps that is an over-statement, but certainly architecture was never less distinctively Spanish than in the Romanesque and Gothic periods, when French, Dutch, German, and even, perhaps, English architects were imported as freely as were Italians of the Renaissance in later days.

Ferdinand the Great, who united the kingdoms of León and Castile in 1037, started the movement which gradually pressed the Moors southwards and culminated in the capture of Toledo in 1085. The Christians, exulting in their conquests, launched on a grand campaign of church-building, which synchronized closely with the great era of Norman architecture in England, and similarly they adopted the forms and features which we call Romanesque because they sprang from Roman building traditions in the former provinces of the Roman Empire.

In this brief survey it is impossible to describe more than one of the many Romanesque churches of Spain : the great pilgrimage-church, now the cathedral, of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia. It is the legendary and possibly the actual burial-place of St. James the Apostle. Early in the ninth century his reputed tomb became an object of veneration and the first church then erected on the site attracted pilgrims from all over Western

Europe. In 1078, possibly a year or two earlier, a large new church was commenced, the building of which proceeded with occasional interruptions for some fifty years. On the roads leading to it across France four other important churches of similar type were erected at about the same time: S. Martin at Tours and S. Martial at Limoges (both now destroyed), Sainte Foy at Conques, and S. Sernin at Toulouse. It has often been stated that Santiago Cathedral was copied from S. Sernin by a French architect, and there are many points of resemblance both in form and dimensions. But recent writers hold that the two buildings are contemporary, that the points of difference are too important to be ignored and that there is nothing to prove that the architect was French, though that certainly seems probable. The names of the two men in charge of the building were 'Bernardus' and 'Robertus' in Latin. As we now see it, the church is so surrounded and covered with later additions, especially with picturesque and striking Baroque architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that a visitor has some difficulty in disentangling its original aspect from these confusing overgrowths. Yet even the appearance of the exterior at the beginning of the twelfth century may be realized to some extent as one stands outside the front of the south transept, or in the *patio* on the east of the apse, where one can see the round arches of the sanctuary and its chapels. But within the church there is no such difficulty: from floor to ceiling it is a magnificent Romanesque vaulted interior, far more ambitious, far more spacious, and far more complete than any of the earlier Christian churches in Spain. It has an unusually long transept, and the whole effect of the interior is enhanced by the fact that the aisles and the triforium gallery run all round the building, even round the apse and the ends of the transept. There is no clerestory to give space for windows, but the Spanish sun is so strong that this omission is not the defect that it would be in a northern climate. The resulting gloom, however, has the effect of increasing the apparent height of the interior, which is, in fact, only just over seventy feet to the crown of the vault. Originally the church had no less than nine towers and turrets, very different in form from the Baroque steeples that we now see. During the twelfth century it was fortified, till it became a regular citadel, and actually withstood a siege in 1462. The ornate and beautiful Pórtico de la Gloria, of which there is a wonderful cast in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was added to the west front by the architect Master Mateo in 1188.

Other notable Romanesque churches in Spain are S. Isidoro

at León, S. Vicente and the fortified cathedral at Ávila, the Old Cathedral at Salamanca (1120–1178), the Colegiata at Toro, and no less than five churches at Segovia; while among secular buildings may be mentioned the Exchange at Lérida, the ancient Palace of the Dukes of Granada, and the fortifications of Astorga, Ávila, León, Lugo, Tarragona, and Zamora.

The best examples of Romanesque sculpture are to be found in the churches just mentioned. Among the earliest are those on the south doorway (Puerta de Platerías) at Santiago and at San Isidoro at León, both early twelfth-century works by artists from the School of Toulouse; the statuary and carving of the west doorway of San Vicente at Ávila in the Burgundian-Cluniac style, and the 'Angelic Salutation', a more realistic work, over the south porch of the same church, again suggesting a master from Toulouse; and the curious sculptures in Zamora Cathedral, apparently based on Roman prototypes. The Templars' Church in the same city also contains two remarkable tombs. But the most magnificent example in Spain is the Pórtico de la Gloria at Santiago, described by one recent writer as 'the darling of antiquarians' and again as 'a typical piece of Cluniac expensiveness', but by M. Dieulafoy as the greatest work in sculpture of the whole period.

It will be realized that Moorish architecture continued to develop abreast of Christian building all through the Middle Ages, right up to the fall of Granada in 1492. Of many examples still surviving the most important are the Alcázar at Seville and the Alhambra at Granada, but both these cities contain several other Moorish buildings of interest, and at Seville Cathedral the beautiful Giralda tower or minaret (1184–1196), the Puerta del Perdón, and the Patio de los Naranjos are relics of the earlier mosque.

The name Alcázar is the Arabic word *Al-Kasr* (= the castle or citadel). Formerly the palace of the Moorish rulers, it was originally built in 1181 by a Toledan architect named Jalubi. When Seville was captured from the Moors in 1248, it became the palace of the Christian kings, and was largely rebuilt by them in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in the 'Mudejar' (Christian-Moorish) style. It consists of a series of rooms and one small court, grouped round a larger central court, the arcaded Patio de las Doncellas (= Court of the Maidens). This fine *patio*, erected in 1369–1379, but much altered as regards its upper story by Charles V, has pointed and richly cusped arches, above which the wall-surfaces are carved into a rich open-work pattern. The Saracen artists were masters in this mode of

geometrical surface-decoration, well suited to the strong sunlight of the South. Other notable features of the Alcázar are the Hall of the Ambassadors, a domed and gorgeously decorated apartment, 33 feet square; the small Patio de las Muñecas (= Court of the Dolls) with horseshoe arches; and the external façade (1364), a perfect example of graceful *mudéjar* work, with cusped arches and a great overhanging pent-roof on brackets.

The name 'Alhambra' (Arabic *al-hamrá* = 'the red') was given by the Moors to the buildings erected by them on the plateau of the hill commanding the city of Granada. It is a strong natural position, encircled by massive and lofty walls which form a striking contrast to the dainty architecture of the Moorish palace that occupies a part of the enclosed area. A wing of this building was destroyed by Charles V to make room for the grandiose palace which he commenced in the Renaissance style (1526–1635). The remaining Moorish buildings were mostly erected in the fourteenth century, long before Granada fell to the Christians, and form the only considerable example of a Saracen royal palace remaining to us of many which were built in the great days of Islam. Magnificently situated, with far-reaching views, it consists of a series of apartments, varying greatly in shape and design, disposed round two large garden-courts lying at right angles to one another: the Patio de la Alberca (= Court of the Pool) and the Patio de los Leones (= Court of the Lions). Beautiful as these two courts are, the construction of the surrounding arcading above the marble shafts is only of lath and plaster, and though it has survived for five centuries in the brilliant sunshine of Andalusia, during recent years steps have had to be taken to arrest the alarming ravages of decay. This flimsiness of construction is not, as has sometimes been stated, characteristic of Saracenic architecture as a whole, but the Alhambra is one of the lightest and gayest examples of the style. Here, as at the Alcázar of Seville, we find a plentiful decorative use of 'stalactites', originally structural features employed in building a dome over a square space, but later used quite illegitimately, as in this case, as an ornament to be repeated in rows and tiers for mere effect. Other characteristic details are the gorgeous geometrical wall-patternings in stucco and *azulejos* (glazed tiles), the inlaid doors, the pierced windows, and the Arabic characters worked into decorative friezes. The principal apartments of the Alhambra all have domes on stalactite 'pendentives', and there is a small mosque or oratory with a *mihrāb*. On a neighbouring hill stands another famous Moorish building, the Generalife, which has lost some of its

charm owing to neglect, but should be visited for its fine old gardens.

The subject of Gothic architecture in Spain is difficult to compress into the limits of a few pages, for in many respects its history differs fundamentally from that of English or French Gothic, and several of the most famous Gothic cathedrals in Spain are among the least Spanish of that country's buildings. The transitional period, from the Romanesque examples already described to the full-fledged Gothic of Toledo and Burgos, and the few examples remaining from that debatable time, have inspired some writers to state that it was a sterile and negligible period, whereas others find in it a manifestation of native Spanish genius.

Without venturing far into this controversial field, one may cite as examples the cathedrals of Sigüenza, Lérida, and Tarragona; but in some of the Romanesque buildings already mentioned there are pointed arches, bold buttresses, and other features heralding the approach of Gothic ideas. The introduction of Gothic architecture into Spain may be attributed with certainty to the Cistercians, and its three chief masterpieces of the first period are as undoubtedly the cathedrals of Toledo (1227), Burgos (1221), and León (*c.* 1240).

During the previous period the Cluniac Order had been mainly instrumental in building churches, of which Santiago is the principal example, and at first the Burgundian type was followed, barrel-vaulted naves and groined aisles being common. In the next phase the buildings of Western and South-western France served as models, though Spanish individuality still remained evident. But the Cistercians who entered Spain in the first half of the thirteenth century brought with them the fully-developed Gothic of the Ile-de-France, and the three cathedrals mentioned above are of the same family as Notre Dame de Paris (1163), Bourges (1190), Chartres (1194), and Amiens (1220). At first the Cistercians suppressed the profuse ornament and the picturesque steeples favoured by the Cluniacs, relying for effect rather on bold vaulted construction, good proportion, and sound craftsmanship; but as time elapsed their practice became less severe. Their work is to be seen not only in their own houses such as Poblet, Santas Creus, and Las Huelgas near Burgos, but also in many secular cathedrals where their influence was strong. Their buildings in Spain for a hundred years show remarkably little variation, and conform, more or less, to a standard French type. In their present form it is not always easy to visualize the original effect intended and produced by the builders, for

time. But the greatest of them all, Jayme Fabre, was a native of the Balearic Islands, and thus a Spaniard by birth. Street has preserved a great deal of interesting information about the personal aspect of this period of Spanish building, and his account of the procedure adopted by the Gerona Cathedral chapter, to ensure that their architect's project of building the widest vaulted nave in Christendom was practicable, forms excellent reading. Briefly, it may be said that the great Catalan churches of the fourteenth century are primarily places for congregational worship on the grand scale, thus resembling the large churches of the friars in Italy, but surpassing them by having vaulted instead of wooden roofs. They lean to the contemporary German rather than the French type. Their tracery is geometrical and somewhat stiff. They have very wide naves and a *chevet*. Their carved ornament is restrained. They are well designed to suit a sunny climate, the windows being comparatively small and placed high up.

The three chief examples are the cathedrals of Barcelona (1298) and Gerona (1312) in Catalonia, and Pamplona (137) in Navarre. At Barcelona the scale is well contrived, so that one realizes the size of the building on entering. The cloisters and west front are later additions. The exterior of Gerona has been greatly altered, and its importance lies within, where the immense span of the nave (73 feet), which is roughly double that of Westminster Abbey, is the most striking feature. The length of the nave is, however, somewhat too short for perfect proportion. Pamplona is a skilfully designed cathedral which has suffered little alteration since it was first built.

The last phase of Gothic architecture in Spain includes the fifteenth century, but it extended well into the sixteenth, long after the first appearance of the Renaissance. Its chief characteristics may be ascribed once more to foreign influence, this time from a new quarter. The architects, sculptors, and craftsmen who invaded Spain during the fifteenth century were mainly Flemings or Germans, such as Hans of Cologne who designed the western towers of Burgos Cathedral in 1442, or the Egas family of Brussels who worked at Toledo. In the Spaniards they found receptive pupils. The work of this period is somewhat florid, but it has the merits of good scale and grouping, it contains much picturesque detail, and it is admirably suited to the Spanish climate. Moorish influence is often apparent in the ornament.

The most important examples of the period are the cathedrals of Salamanca, Segovia, and Seville. Salamanca 'New' Cathedral adjoins the older Romanesque church (fortunately

preserved for the most part), which it dwarfs by its size and swamps by its exuberant decoration. It was begun in 1512 by the architect Juan Gil de Hontañón, following an elaborate commission of inquiry quite in the modern style, when nine practising architects were asked to report on the best method of dealing with the new cathedral and the old one. It is a three-aisled cruciform church with a *square* east end, thus differing from all the other Gothic churches described hitherto. Over the crossing is a lantern, a favourite feature in Spanish buildings. The interior is of great width and very impressive, but the exterior displays an abundance of mixed and mediocre Gothic-Renaissance detail. Segovia, commenced by the same architect in 1522 and finished by his son only about fifty years later, so closely resembles Salamanca in many respects that even the cautious Street suggests that the same plans may have been used. Like Salamanca, it has side-chapels to both aisles of the nave. There is a cloister with flamboyant tracery, crocketted pinnacles, and cresting of somewhat Moorish design. Externally, horizontal parapets are prominent, and they conceal all the roofs. The huge cathedral at Seville was begun in 1402 and completed about a century later. It occupies the site of the mosque that the Christians used as a church after they captured the city in 1248, and the Giralda Tower, the Puerta del Perdón, and the Patio de los Naranjos are relics of the old Saracen building. The architect's name is unknown: he may well have been a German. The cathedral forms a complete rectangle, and has five aisles. Of these the *side aisles* of the nave are approximately equal in width and height to the main nave of Westminster Abbey! This gives some idea of the enormous scale of the cathedral, the largest mediaeval church in the world, and as to its interior very similar in design to Milan Cathedral, its rival in point of size.

Gothic sculpture in Spain is mainly architectural in its nature, that is, it formed part of the buildings already described, and therefore its development followed on somewhat similar lines. There is a fairly continuous sequence of examples showing the gradual transition from the conventional and rather archaic Romanesque statues of the Pórtico de la Gloria at Santiago to the Ile-de-France sculptures of the late thirteenth century. The Cistercians, with their puritanical severity in matters of taste, at first discouraged figure-sculpture, so that when it appears in their buildings it is of an advanced and mature type. Work of this period is to be seen in the central west portal at León and on various portals at Burgos, resembling French sculptures at Chartres and Bourges, the Burgos statues forming a museum in

which one can follow the gradual advance towards the realism of the fourteenth century. Yet even in these examples there is something distinctively Spanish.

The use of colour in connection with sculpture developed throughout the Gothic period, and polychrome statues are common. In the Old Cathedral at Salamanca there are four fine examples. Other notable early Gothic works include the tomb of Bishop Manrique at León, the statues of Ferdinand the Saint and Beatrice of Swabia in the cloisters at Burgos, and an interesting series in Tarragona Cathedral. Besides the numerous effigies of saints and apostles, and the rather conventionalized portrait-statues on tombs, there are many admirable statues and statuettes of the Madonna, to be seen over altars and *retablos*, a subject in which the Spanish artists of the day seem to have excelled. At Zaragoza Cathedral the recumbent effigy of Archbishop Lope Fernández is one of the outstanding works of the late fourteenth century.

In the fifteenth century portrait-effigies show a rapid movement in style towards accurate realism, as in the fine statue of Archbishop Juan de Cervantes (d. 1453) in the cathedral at Seville, by Lorenzo Mercadante of Brittany. Among the pupils of this celebrated French sculptor were Dancart, who began the great *retablo* at Seville, and the Spaniard Pedro Millán, who executed the beautiful Virgen del Pilar there. Other notable *retablos* of the fifteenth century are to be seen in the cathedrals of Tarragona and Zaragoza, both by Pere Johan of Tarragona. The work of Gil de Siloe may best be studied at Burgos, in the cathedral and the Cartuja de Miraflores.

In sculpture as in architecture, there is a marked difference in style between the various provinces of Spain. Up to about 1400 French and Burgundian influence had predominated, French especially in Navarre, while the Mediterranean towns of Catalonia leaned towards Italy, and as early as 1440 we hear of a great *retablo* being imported from Genoa. In Castile and Andalusia the fifteenth century saw the arrival and settlement of a large number of Flemish and German sculptors, notably the Egas family of Brussels, who developed the tendency towards realism, so that Christ came to be represented as an emaciated figure and the Virgin as a middle-aged woman. Finally, in the work of Gil de Siloe and Diego de la Cruz we see the first signs of the Renaissance, before the fifteenth century had closed.

The Renaissance in architecture may conveniently be defined as the revival of interest in Roman building, followed by the application of its main features, and afterwards its principles,

to modern practice. It reached France some time after it had become accepted in Italy, England later still, but its cause of development in Spain is perhaps the most puzzling part of all the complicated history of Spanish architecture. The period—if it can be called a period—may be divided into phases, the Plateresque, the Middle Renaissance, the Baroque, and the Academic Revival. But each of these subdivisions overlaps its neighbours, so that we find Gothic buildings still being erected after Charles V had commenced his great palace at Granada in the Italian style of the ' Middle ' period. Nor is it easy for any but a practised student to distinguish between some florid Plateresque works of the early sixteenth century and certain Baroque buildings of the late seventeenth: extravagance of ornament is no criterion in Spain.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century signs of the new movement begin to appear, in architecture as in sculpture. The most obvious feature of Renaissance architecture in all countries is the Roman ' Order ', a column or pilaster with its entablature designed according to rules. But at first Spain did not take the Orders seriously, and they were used for the most part as applied decoration, mingled carelessly with flamboyant Gothic or even with Moorish detail. Thus the cloister of S. Esteban (1524) at Salamanca has Gothic vaulting on Renaissance pilasters, and the Lonja (1541) at Zaragoza has Gothic vaulting on Ionic columns. Plateresque architecture was, in fact, a fashion in decoration rather than a serious revolution in structural methods. Its singular name is derived from the word *platero* (= goldsmith) and M. Dieulafoy goes so far as to ascribe the source of the whole movement to a Catalan goldsmith who returned from Italy about 1458, settled at Toledo, and had a great influence on Enrique Egas, son of the Flemish architect of the cathedral there. Egas subsequently became one of the chief exponents of Plateresque, and indeed he had so large a practice that he was dismissed from his post as cathedral architect at Granada because his visits there were so infrequent. The crowded façades of the churches of S. Pablo and S. Gregorio at Valladolid are characteristic of Plateresque, but there are many other Spanish towns abounding in examples, especially Salamanca, Zaragoza, and Alcalá de Henares. The Ayuntamiento or Town Hall of Seville (1534–1572), by Diego de Riaño, is more Italian in type, but the various Renaissance details are massed together with a profusion that is not Italian.

It may have been Moorish tradition that made Spanish architects revel in surface decoration, which perhaps reaches its

apogee in the extraordinary Casa de las Conchas at Salamanca, an abuse of craftsmanship: but the somewhat similar Casa de los Picos at Segovia, with its faceted stones, has an Italian prototype or rival in the Palazzo de' Diamanti at Ferrara. The noble cornices of Florentine palaces of the fifteenth century are seldom found in Spain, though the Lonja (1541) at Zaragoza has one, but the Plateresque architects preferred an open loggia on the upper story of houses, providing a secluded promenade and lounging-place for the women. This feature, with a deep eaves and boldly projecting brackets, again suggesting Moorish influence, relieves the usually plain exteriors to the street, elaborate decoration being reserved for the often beautiful *patio* and apartments within. The monastery of S. Marcos at León (1514–1549) actually has a Moorish arch in its façade. But in spite of all these cross-currents and complications, the Plateresque style was an Italian product; it was the outcome of Italian ideas imported mainly through aristocratic and ecclesiastical channels at a time when Spanish soldiers and Spanish clerics were closely in touch in Italy; and it owes its unique character to the exuberant and splendour-loving tastes of the Spanish people, then at the zenith of their prosperity.

The second phase of the Renaissance in Spain is much more obviously Italian in its nature and inspiration, as definitely Italian, indeed, as the designs of Inigo Jones in England which it preceded by almost a century. The Roman 'Orders' are employed everywhere, structurally as well as decoratively, and other classic features assume an increased importance, while planning becomes regular and symmetrical. Once more Spain subordinates her individuality for a short time to the genius of an alien race, just as she did during the period when her three chief early Gothic cathedrals were built in the French style. As examples of the mid-Renaissance three more cathedrals may be mentioned: Granada (1520), Málaga (1538), and Jaén (1532). The two former are churches of the first class, so far as dimensions are concerned, while Jaén is also a considerable building. Each has a width approximating to two-thirds of its length. The architect who commenced Granada Cathedral was Enrique de Egas (of the Flemish family already mentioned), but he was superseded, two years after construction had begun, by the Spaniard Diego de Siloe for the reason previously explained. A five-aisled church, flanked on each side by chapels, and with an east end designed in the form of a *chevet*, its plan is surprisingly mediaeval, and in fact nave and aisles are completely roofed with Gothic vaulting, resting on curious piers with engaged fluted

Roman columns, and with an entablature above their capitals. Málaga has a three-aisled plan with chapels and a *chevet*, but it is roofed with domes on arches, so that it is a step further towards Renaissance purism, but even at Málaga the Orders have not begun to be used effectively.

Charles V's Palace in the Alhambra at Granada (1526), by Pedro Machuca, is far more recognizable as a child of the Renaissance. Its central court is something of an absurdity, and the whole building is utterly out of tune with the Moorish masterpiece which it partly replaced, but it is characterized by the unity and restraint of the Italian School. The courtyards of the Alcázar at Toledo, of the Colegio del Patriarca at Valencia (1586–1604), and of the Hospital of S. Juan Bautista at Toledo (1584–1587) are all akin to the work carried out in Genoa and Milan at that time by such architects as Alessi and Tibaldi. The victory of Italian ideas was partial and short-lived, but it appears at its best in the enormous block of buildings commenced by Philip II in 1559, and known briefly as 'the Escorial' from the mountain village of that name which it adjoins. Comprising a monastery, a church, and a royal palace, it forms a noble group, magnificently situated. But its prevailing characteristic is stark severity, relieved only by the masterly grouping of its dome and towers. It is said that Philip himself devoted much attention to the design and progress of the building, but we must assign chief credit for its success to his architects, Juan de Toledo and Juan de Herrera. The former, who had studied in Italy, died in 1563, just after the foundation-stone had been laid. Herrera, who succeeded him, had studied in Brussels, had served in Italy as a soldier under Charles V, and designed, among other buildings, the Lonja (Bourse) at Seville, and the Colegio del Patriarca at Valencia (already mentioned), as well as the Cathedral at Valladolid, completed with considerable alterations after his death.

After a short transition period, of which the Jesuit church at Alcalá de Henares (1602), by Ordóñez, is a typical product, we arrive at the Baroque phase of the Renaissance, which was taken up greedily and enthusiastically in Spain, where it naturally found a spiritual home. For Spain, of that day at any rate, was essentially a place of 'pomp and circumstance', whose people must have chafed under the severities of Palladian architecture, and, after a very brief spell of restraint, her architects, who had barely forgotten the Plateresque fantasies of their fathers, gladly welcomed the message of liberty, splendour, and revolt that had arrived from Italy as an antidote to Vitruvius. And in Spain, where we can see Baroque at its worst, we can also

find, if we look, illustrations of its more worthy aspects : ingenuity and dignity in monumental planning, nobility of grouping, picturesqueness of effect. In my book *Baroque Architecture* (1913) I have dealt with the characteristics of the style, and have devoted a chapter to Spain. Here only a few of the innumerable Baroque buildings in that country can be mentioned, but it is desirable to remark that the unfortunate architect Churriguera (1650–1723), whose name has been coupled with the worst excesses in design of that period, was comparatively reticent in his taste. The façades of Santo Tomás and San Cajetano at Madrid, the Town Hall and Jesuit College at Salamanca are examples of his style.

Of the following examples, typical of the century or so from 1650 to 1750, some are wild and flamboyant, others quite sober : the great Jesuit College at Loyola (1683–1738) near San Sebastián, by the Italian Carlo Fontana ; the royal palaces at Madrid (1738–1764) and La Granja (1721–1723) by the Italians Juvara and Sacchetti ; the palace at Aranjuez (1712) by Idogro and Bonavia ; the façade, ' El Obradoiro ' (1738), of Santiago Cathedral, by Casas y Novoa ; the cathedral façades of Jaén, Granada, Valladolid, and Murcia ; a number of striking towers ; churches and palaces everywhere ; the Tobacco Factory at Seville ; and some fine fountains and gardens. Salamanca, Madrid, and Valencia are rich in examples. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Baroque phase ended, and with the introduction of cosmopolitan *Academismo* Spain concluded one of the liveliest chapters in her architectural history, and from that point her architectural history becomes merely European, though there have been occasional exceptions, notably the recent productions of the Catalan School.

Sculpture during the Renaissance followed a somewhat similar course. Italian humanistic influence appears in the work of Damián Forment, who studied in Italy, followed the style of Donatello, and died in 1533. Among his masterpieces are the *retablos* of Nuestra Señora del Pilar and S. Pablo at Zaragoza, the *retablo* at Huesca Cathedral, and perhaps the fine tomb of Martín Vásquez de Arce at Sigüenza Cathedral. His work is marked by refinement and by a sensuous appreciation of human beauty. Another sculptor captured by Renaissance ideas was Philip of Burgundy (Felipe de Vigarni), who began work on the reredos at Toledo Cathedral in 1501 in the flamboyant Gothic manner, but was carving alabaster reliefs at Burgos like an Italian a few years later, and reached a high standard of realism in his remarkable polychrome effigy of Isabel the Catholic in the

Chapel Royal at Granada. Contemporary with him was Bartolomé Ordóñez, a Catalan sculptor imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance, who also worked on the royal tombs at Granada, as well as at Ávila and elsewhere. Besides these and other Spaniards of note, there were native-born Italians who came to Spain mainly to design and carve tombs in churches. Among them may be mentioned Miguel the Florentine, Francesco Pisani, and Pietro Torrigiano—fresh from his work at Westminster—who settled in Seville but left no authenticated work in Spain except the statue of S. Jerome in the Seville Museum.

Sculptors of the middle period include Alonso Berruguete (*c.* 1480–1561), Gaspar Becerra (1520–1571), and Juan Juni (1507–1577). The first two, at least, spent a long time in Italy, and all three were considerably influenced by the work of Michelangelo. They seized with avidity on his notions of dramatic posing and anatomical accuracy, with the result that their statuary, while undeniably clever and striking, has a restless effect somewhat disturbing to the repose of a church interior. The Spanish taste for polychromy still continued.

Into the excitement of the Baroque phase the sculptors of Spain plunged with joy, revelling in the spirit of revolt that actuated it. Whirling masses of pagan saints and cherubs scrambled among marble clouds and golden sun-rays above every glittering altar. Taken separately, the statues and carved ornaments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are often admirable, but the very profusion with which they are scattered in almost all Spanish cathedrals prevents us seeing the wood for the trees. The iron *rejas* (= screens or grilles), the wood choir-stalls, the alabaster *retablos* and the tombs : all these individual details are usually well designed and executed, but they tend to destroy the effect of architecture—that ' Mistress Art ' whose handmaidens they should be—by the exuberance which is, after all, the prevailing note in Spanish art.

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[See also Nos. 133, 135, 144.]

CHAPTER VIII

MODERN SPANISH MUSIC

THE art of music in Spain of the present day is the newest of all Europe. It is more recent even than that of Finland and Great Britain. The first of the 'new Spaniards', Isaac Albéniz, was born three years later than Edward Elgar, the first undoubted genius of the English renaissance. He was certainly born five years before Sibelius, the head of the Finnish group; but where Sibelius belongs to the grand line of European masters, Albéniz is but one of the relatively minor composers, and until he came under the influence of the French musicians, his music was little more than conventional. When in 1909 he died at the age of 49, his work in its new phase was perhaps unfinished; yet he had done enough to show that his gifts were not those of the supreme creators of music.

The modern art of France, formed and led by Debussy, asserted itself during the last ten years of the nineteenth century, so that it gave a lead even to Albéniz. The second great French composer, Maurice Ravel, was born in 1875. The first Spaniard of universal power, Manuel de Falla, was born in 1876. But while Ravel came to maturity without delay, so that he wrote some of his best music while yet in his twenties, Falla's development was postponed until he had in his turn drawn sustenance from the Frenchman, and he was well advanced into the thirties before he could exercise his powers to the full. (The renaissance in Hungary and the Near East generally is still *sub judice*; for the art of Béla Bartók, born in 1881, has not yet—1928—proved itself.)

Thus the new music of Spain is so exceedingly recent that few in Spain or elsewhere can know much about it. And both at home and abroad its rise and promulgation have been hindered by two conditions. One of these is the lack of interest displayed by Spaniards themselves in their own native music, whether folk or art. The other is the excessive popularity, no less in Spain itself than in Western Europe, of a conventional type of music which, though Spanish, is not true and complete Spanish.

Throughout the nineteenth century this commercialized Spanish music flourished. Every composer who served a market of piano students wrote his serenades, seguidillas, Andalusian songs, gipsy dances, habaneras, and the like, when in doubt naming them *danses espagnoles* or affixing such titles as *guitarre*. The makers of this music lived in England, France, Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, the United States of America, and the Iberian Peninsula.

About the middle of the nineteenth century certain of the Russian composers began to penetrate more deeply into the true music of Spain, so that from them came the first impetus to the recovery of a vital art. Some thirty years later, the French composers did the same, but far more thoroughly ; and when the nineteenth century passed over into the twentieth, the way was open for native Spaniards to take part in the work. The Spanish musicologists and collectors of folk-music had already been active for more than a generation, discovering that in no quarter of Spain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had the ' folk ' abandoned their natural music, that each locality retained its dances, and that the gipsies of the south lived in and by music as fully as the gipsies of any other country. Thus the preserving labours of the students of folk-music were not hindered by serious decay in any direction ; and from the time when Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922) began to preach his religion of a national school of musical art, material for that art was available.

The conventional pieces of the nineteenth century did no harm. They did not delay the production of the true music, because the time was not ripe for that to appear. Indeed, they did good in that they kept alive some measure of interest in certain lively rhythms, bright turns of melody, and highly individual emotional moods. The music was romantic. It portrayed a race and a country which every one liked to be in touch with, quickening the general imagination of Europe. Bizet's *Carmen*, a work of pure genius, is the climax of achievement in this direction, and much of its fame is due to the fact that everything in it is of a familiar cast. The Toreador's song, the habanera (a piece written, as it happens, by Yradier, a Spaniard whose *La Paloma* is known all over the world), and the music of the opening scene of the last act, were recognized as ' Spanish ' the moment their introductory phrases were heard ; and whenever the new, essentially Spanish art-music makes its way into foreign countries, it is aided by *Carmen* and the host of smaller works of the same type.

The educated classes in Spain were not interested in native music during the nineteenth century. Like all such classes throughout Europe (Germany and Austria excepted only in part) they yielded to the Italian opera. But the educated Spaniards made use none the less of conventionalized Spanish music. The pieces interested them much as if they themselves were foreigners, so that for every ten of such pieces written by musicians of another race, probably fifty were written by native-born musicians. The average professional composer, compelled to live by serving his home market, and by nature disinclined for change, did not welcome the revival in its first stages: he probably laughed at the enthusiasms of the folklorist, and he certainly caused Pedrell to withdraw into his native Catalonia in 1894, disappointed, and in bad health. All of Spain that he wanted to express could be put into the song, the violin or piano solo, and the zarzuela. And the public at large knew nothing of the work of Pedrell and his fellows.

Before Pedrell was in his 'teens, one Russian composer had been inspired to the creation of serious art-music upon Spanish themes. This was Glinka (1803–1857), first of the Russian nationalists, and termed by Liszt the Prophet-Patriarch of musical Russia. Glinka visited Spain in the late 1840's, studied the native music there, making friends with guitarrists and all kinds of people, and then wrote his two overtures, *The Jota Aragonesa* and *A Night in Madrid*, thereby initiating a revival that was destined to await the passing of another generation before it could manifest itself further.

It was natural that a Russian should write *à la espagnole*. Spanish music is primarily Oriental, and Russian music contains many Oriental elements. We should not confuse a Russian *orientale* and a Spanish: no Albéniz or Granados could have composed the *Islamey* of Balakirew; yet the fundamental non-European spirit of native Russian and native Spanish music draws them more closely together than any other two sections of European musical art.

The next creative influence exerted by Spain upon a foreign composer (next, that is, in respect of works that are in frequent use to-day) is that which brought into being the *España* of Alexis Emmanuel Chabrier (1841–1894), a Frenchman born in the same year as Felipe Pedrell. Chabrier observed with great thoroughness the idomatic qualities of Spanish music; and his rhapsody, originally written for piano (1883), and then arranged for orchestra, is to-day a very frequently played piece of music. It incorporates the jota and the malagueña, and is in every way

Spanish in spirit and style ; yet it is not of the kind that inspires other musicians, and although different in every way from the commercialized Spanish music of the nineteenth century, it is not likely that it has done anything to foster the present development of Spanish art-music. To such other works as the *Symphonie espagnole* of Édouard Lalo (1823–1892) the same remark must be applied.

The fertilizing power that came out of France, to which the leading Spanish composers of to-day constantly pay tribute, was developed by a musician who wrote, not *à la espagnole*, but *en espagnol* (the phrasing is Manuel de Falla's). The musician was Claude Debussy (1862–1918). But Albéniz, the first highly gifted Spanish musician of the period, had already run half his course before Debussy had done any work in this direction to influence him and his countrymen. Sarasate, the violinist (1844–1908), Tomás Bretón (1850–1923), and others, came too early to be influenced by the new French school, even if their musical natures had been susceptible : Sarasate's pieces are but pleasant trifles ; Bretón's operas and zarzuelas, although performed in Europe, have not gone permanently into the repertory of a foreign opera house. (Bretón's music is pure, clear, sweet and strong ; the *Jota la más famosa* from the opera *La Dolores* is fascinating.) Except when he was writing for money—and his pockets were often empty—Albéniz during the first period of his life wrote none but the best conventional Spanish music. But this word conventional must be applied to many of his compositions only because of the later development in his own art ; for the hundred or so short piano pieces in the Spanish manner written before his removal to Paris are finer music, and more representatively Spanish, than any of the same class written by any other musician, native or foreign. We can, indeed, learn all we need to know of nineteenth-century Spanish music from these alone. They have everything but poetry in its finest distillation, and they range into every province.

That finest poetry, without which music, however varied and energetic, is not pure music, was first drawn from the heart of things Spanish by Debussy, who knew nothing of Spain but what was conveyed to him by pictures, literature, and collected folk-songs, and who was in the country but once, and that only for a few hours. Perhaps none of his works on Spanish subjects (which will be particularized at the end of this chapter) has the magic of his *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* ; but no other modifying remark is permissible : the orchestral work entitled *Iberia* (which was recorded for the gramophone by the Columbia Company

in January, 1928) is ideally Spanish. Drawn partly by Debussy, but mainly by the general modern conditions of music prevailing in Paris, Albéniz went to France, and by his subsequent compositions (as Pedro García Morales has said) he ' revealed to the world the artistic significance of Spanish music, and awoke musical Spain to the reality of a modern sensibility '.

The Spanish renaissance dates from this moment. Ravel extended in his own highly individual manner the work begun by Debussy. Granados, writing in a less specifically Spanish manner than Albéniz, and with none of Albéniz' modernism, contrived by means of his *Goyescas* to remind the outside world of the importance of the new energy that was active in his country. Spanish music was in the air, and Manuel de Falla was ready to inspire it and render it forth in the finest works yet created by a Spaniard.

It would seem that, for reasons obvious to all acquainted with Spain, the true art-music must come of the South. Pedrell, Albéniz, and Granados were Catalonians. Falla is an Andalusian, and he is an infinitely more complete musician than any of his predecessors. He stands, in the opinion of most critics, in the foremost rank of present-day creators. Others have produced more. Others, by reason of circumstance, position, character of work, or organized publicity, have become more widely known to the general public. Others again, because of their situation in the cosmos of European music and the adaptability of their subjects to the grand constructions (Spanish music cannot identify itself with the classic Teutonic forms), have written works better suited for everyday performance here, there, and everywhere. But Spain has in Falla one of the indubitable masters of this generation, and her renaissance has evolved this great musician early in its second generation.

Falla's poetic genius is naturally the counterpart of his musical genius. Its range is wide, comprising pathos, and therefore humour, as much wit as good music wants, sentiment that ranges from the gardens of the Alhambra on summer nights to the merrymakings of country-folk and the high spirits of holidays, —indeed, everything that forms the true character of that entity known as the South of Spain. His musical genius is altogether modern, but his technique and style are such that he is neither atonalist, polytonalist, futurist, neo-classicist, nor anything else which the strange development of music in Central Europe has forced into naming. The manner of music-making which he has evolved is an instrument for the utterance of his own thoughts and feelings ; it is this that brings him ultimately into line with

tradition, and proves the stability of the renaissance of Spanish art-music. The intellectual revival in Europe has been accompanied by two theories of art: in Italy, for example, the young literary men are split into two factions, the *Strapaese*, or nationalists, who would have Italian art confine itself to provincial subjects, and the *Stracitta*, or universalists, who would have it opened at once to subjects that are entirely general. Falla begins with purely Spanish subjects, and he never departs from them; but before he has perfected an expression of them in his art, their common human value has become clear, and his art is made universal.

The Spanish musical renaissance, or the research that prepares the ground for it, extends into every province. The interest in regional music is as individual as are the districts themselves, —and nowhere else in Europe are the various departments of a country so curiously individual. We can therefore obtain collections of native songs from every part of Spain, though as a rule these mean little to foreigners until—as is the case with the Hungarian folk-songs and Béla Bartók—they have been re-cast by a great musician. Hitherto such imaginative treatment has been effected in the remoter provinces only by composers of very moderate ability, so that the pieces produced are frankly dull: e.g. R. Villar's *Canciones Leonesas para piano* and *Danzas Montañesas* from León, and the *Veinte Melodías Asturianas para piano* of Anselmo G. del Valle,—yet the six Asturian rhapsodies of Valle are attractive. It may perhaps be that only the native music which is 'full of the warm south' can ever pass into the great art of the concert world, or into the greatest art; the Basques incline more to a lofty religious music, the Catalans (as is shown by the work of Eduard Toldrá and Juli Garreta) to big-sized, very dry essays in the classic manner or to compositions that are beautiful only in the established universal way of romantic music. But at any moment a genius may arise in any province to prove this thought wrong.

A case in point may be cited. In 1887 was born in Guipúzcoa a musician who, had fate been kind, might have done for the north what Falla has done for the south. This was José María Usandizaga, a native of San Sebastián. Usandizaga had the power to carry into effect the long, widespread desire to create Basque opera. His second work for the stage, *Las Golondrinas* (Madrid, February 5, 1914), brought him fame literally overnight, for within twenty-four hours of the first performance he became a national hero of music. But he died twenty months later, and his music does not appear to have travelled abroad.

Allowing for the new style of present-day composers, which obscures contemporary works for men and women not musical by nature, one leading difficulty in respect of modern Spanish music is admitted and explained. Another, more serious, is that Spanish music is quite different from the Italian or Teutonic upon which most of us in England have been trained. Spanish and German music express two different worlds. Between Schumann and Albéniz, for example, between the *Fantasiestücke* of the one, and the *Azulejos* of the other, lies a gulf as deep as that between the Catholic religion of Andalusia and the Protestant of Saxony, or between the organ and the guitar. This gulf is traversible. There are many ways from the one side to the other. But until we perceive the ways, and until we have lived long enough on the Iberian side to be at home there, the Spanish does not content us as does the German.

Nor do professional performers always help us in the right way. Until the dawn of the twentieth century, music for the Central and Western European meant (as already implied) German music or Italian. The Italian, being vocal or operatic, may be left out of the present count. Thus, speaking broadly, the main world of music, for us of Western Europe, meant for a hundred years that which is signified by the names Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Wagner, Brahms. Now all this vast range of music expresses a sensibility or sentiment which we call Teutonic. And the entire course of training for pianists, violinists, and orchestral musicians during the nineteenth century was determined by that sensibility. Imagine speakers trained to Shakespeare (in all his moods), Milton, Wordsworth and Browning, and taught by implication that there was only this one type of poetic art—diverse, it may be, yet essentially the same—and taught further that the way to speak it was the only right and proper way to speak verse. Imagine now these speakers confronted with a form of poetic art that is the counterpart of the swift *opera buffa* of Italy or the sparkling intellectual comedy of France,—say the comedies of Sheridan cast into a light verse. Obviously the speakers would deliver this fancied Sheridan verse in quite the wrong manner. Their technique, vocal and mental, would be the wrong technique, and we should not receive from them the verse as it should be received. Consequently we should not understand it, because we should not be seeing the thing as the thing really is. Much the same mistake will occur when musicians of Western Europe play Iberian music to us. They invest it with a quality of sentiment which it does not contain. They adopt a type of

touch for music deriving from the guitar which belongs only to music deriving from the organ. They purvey a passion which Spaniards do not know in their art, because it is not in their lives. They strive after a richness of tone, a clinging refinement of meditation, and a spiritual *misterioso*, that are the very essence of Northern music, but of that alone.

Not too much is to be made of this critical objection, but enough should be made of it to justify our questioning any performance of Spanish music in which conflicting interests seem to enter, and particularly to justify our questioning the remarks made by professional critics about the music. For as the performers approach the music from the Northern, not the Southern, point of view, so critics may do the same. To those of us who have not brought thought and patient experience to mediaeval music, that music sounds all alike, the love songs as heavy as the dirges; whereas actually it is as different when necessary as the poetry which it accompanies. The same is the case with music of remote foreign countries,—Spain, Finland, Czecho-Slovakia, and particularly the Orient. Two strongly antithetical lines from one of the lyrics in *The Princess* might always be in the minds of musicians when in contact with Spanish music:

> That bright and fierce and fickle is the South,
> And dark and true and tender is the North.

Taking the Northern music as a standard or criterion, we can make the following objections against the Southern. Its melodies are brief to the degree of fragmentariness. Its rhythms are confined to a few characteristic figures. In the matter of form it is rhapsodic, not finely wrought fugally or cast into grand symphonic architecture. Spiritually it seems by contrast almost shallow. Intellectually it is erratic, in that where with Northern music we have well packed logical development, with the Southern we may have long flights of apparently irresponsible melismata or florid cadenza. Then whatever the piece, its mood, purpose, or form, it seems bound to bring in the same conventional melodic turns and the same continuous subsidence upon the dominant of the key.

These objections are fatal, in view of the assumed standard. But since that standard is false, the objections are to be struck out. In other words, Spanish music must from the outset be regarded from a totally different position. It reflects the high lands of the Central Provinces or the orange groves of the Southern, not the broad rich plains of Germany. Its moonlight is not that of the Thuringian forests, but that of richly perfumed

Granada. And it has come, not from the great congregations of the Lutheran Church or the great worldly operatic public of Austria and Italy, but primarily from the burning Orient and the gipsies. In the ultimate issues, music must become universal, as must poetry: the greatest poetic expressions will pass with but little change into every language capable of conveying the same thought and mood, and the greatest musical expressions will win a response from people of every race, Oriental and Occidental alike. An Arabian or Bengali singer, though his art may seem ludicrous at first, can in the end find the way into our hearts and move us almost as profoundly as a European singer of the Schubert songs. But this is only in the ultimate issue, and neither Spanish music nor we ourselves have as yet risen to that point. We have thus to be educated into the Spanish form of musical art. The process is not complex or confusing. Given first a radical sympathy and some personal musicianship, it requires no more than an understanding of the national poetry, art, philosophy, and average mental and emotional conditions.

It is not necessary to cross the seas and gather knowledge of primitive Oriental music. If we learn a little of Hebrew, Arabian, Persian, and Hindu music, and of the gipsy of Europe in general, we are certainly made open-minded to the *variety* of music, and forced to recognize that what we are familiar with from the cradle is not the only kind; but this is not actually necessary here, for the reason that everything in Spain has long been assimilated into that which has its own *raison d'être*.

A bibliography of English and American essays on Spanish music cannot be brought into this chapter, or compiled as an appendix to it, for the reason that very little of importance has so far been produced. Three of the English musical periodicals not infrequently have reliable articles; these are the *Chesterian* (11 Great Marlborough Street, London W.1), *Music and Letters* (22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2) and the *British Musician* (53 Barclay Road, Birmingham). J. B. Trend has written two books,—*A Picture of Modern Spain* (Constable), and *The Music of Spanish History to* 1600 (Oxford University Press). The only other book in English is Carl van Vechten's *The Music of Spain* (Kegan Paul), a lively, jumbled, often inaccurate piece of journalism which still manages to convey to the reader some idea of the renaissance and the average interest taken in Spanish music abroad.

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that work deals with Spanish music fairly completely. A guide to the extensive literature in French and Spanish (with a few references to that in German) is given in Trend's *A Picture of Modern Spain*, pages 202–212.

Far more useful than books and essays is the music itself. The scores are to be procured from the Unión Musical Española (Carrera de San Jerónimo, Madrid; Cruz, Bilbao; Puerta del Ángel, Barcelona; Wad-Ras, Santander; Peris y Valero, Valencia; and Santiago, Valladolid) or from the Paris publishers who issue works by Spanish composers. A London clearing-house for Spanish music is J. and W. Chester, Ltd., 11 Great Marlborough Street.

The pianoforte appeals strongly to Spanish composers, owing to the ease with which it can be made to reflect the guitar.[1] They have extended its technique; and, except in the case of Falla, we can study their music thoroughly by means of this instrument. Even Falla's music is in process of transcription for the piano, so that already we can obtain whole ballets and operas in the pianoforte score.

The piano music is naturally difficult, far beyond the power of any but exceptionally gifted amateurs. Therefore we have to turn to the player-piano, and it is a fortunate circumstance that the catalogue of the Aeolian Company, New Bond Street, London, contains many titles of works by modern Spaniards. Except when otherwise stated, all the compositions in the following list are available in Aeolian Company music rolls; duplicate issues in a number of cases may be found in the Ampico (Regent Street, London) and the Animatic (Blüthner and Co., Wigmore Street, London) catalogues. About twenty-five of the pieces are further available for the electric reproduction pianos of the Aeolian Company, the Hupfeld (Blüthner and Co.) Company, and the Ampico.

Opportunity is sought in this list of player-piano music rolls to give some information about individual pieces and to indicate further the character of Spanish composition.

I. Albéniz. The *Suite Espagnole* is the early set of pieces that first gave Isaac Albéniz a general reputation in Europe and America. No. 4, entitled in the Suite 'Cádiz', and subtitled 'Saeta', became the famous Spanish Serenade of the 1890's; it was played in every hotel and restaurant and was as regular an item in the repertory of amateur pianists as the first movement

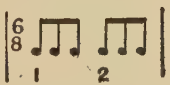
[1] Andrés Segovia, a famous guitarist, records for the H.M.V. Gramophone Company.

of the *Moonlight Sonata*. No. 6, 'Aragón' ('Fantasia'), and No. 7, 'Castilla' ('Seguidillas'), are better known to-day as 'Jota Aragonesa' and 'Seguidillas'; the latter is one of the best examples of this dance available, and it is among the more popular works in the player-piano repertory. No. 5, 'Asturias' ('Leyenda'), a very interesting piece of music, became afterwards the Prelude of the *Chants d'Espagne*, of which No. 7, the seguidilla just mentioned, became the finale. It was a business-like habit with Albéniz to issue the same work under different titles.

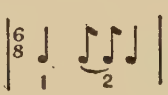
The remaining numbers of the *Suite Espagnole* are: No. 1, 'Granada' ('Serenata'); No. 2, 'Cataluña' ('Curranda'); No. 3, 'Sevilla' ('Sevillana'); and No. 8, 'Cuba' ('Capricho'), said by the composer to be in triple-time by his time-signature, but actually in a duple-time, and derived from the tango or habanera.

There has always been difficulty in expressing Spanish rhythms in musical notation, and the carelessness—amounting to ignorance—of the Spanish composers has not eased it. As with certain Oriental systems of music, notably the Hindu, attempts to write Spanish music on paper date back over only a few generations. The rough-and-ready methods of some composers, and the ambiguity attending upon the methods of even the careful ones, set a further problem for foreign musicians who are trained in the exact notational systems of Teutonic and Italian composers.

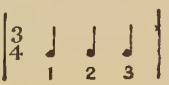
One detail may be instanced here: the 6–8 rhythm, which is a duple-time,—

(*a*) 

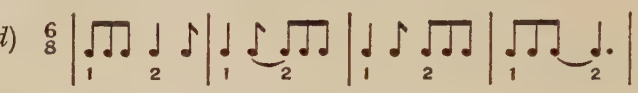
when syncopated, should be expressed thus,—

(*b*) 

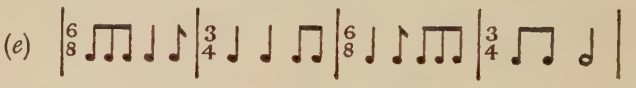
This figure (*b*) in 'straight' or direct rhythm becomes a triple-time,—

(*c*) 

and as such the syncopated 6–8 of (*b*) is often written by Spaniards. Yet the Spaniards themselves play in a syncopated rhythm right through a phrase, as in,—

(*d*) 

in despite of their notation of,—

(*e*) 

Returning to the Albéniz compositions: the remaining numbers of the *Chants d'Espagne* are No. 2, an 'Orientale'; No. 3, an habanera, 'Sous le Palmier'; and No. 4, 'Córdoba', a lovely serenade-meditation based upon this poetic motto: 'In the silence of the night, something interrupts the whisper of the aromatic zephyrs through the jessamines,—the guzlas [1] sound, accompanying the serenades and diffusing in the air ardent melodies and notes as sweet as the vibrations of the palms in the high heavens.'

A third set of early, and therefore conventional, pieces by Albéniz are the *Recuerdos de Viaje*: No. 1, 'En el mar', a barcarolle; No. 2, another barcarolle, of the ballade or *leyenda* type; No. 3, 'Alborada' (not the northern song, but a 'morning mood'); No. 4, 'En la Alhambra'; No. 5, 'Puerta de Tierra', a bolero; No. 6, 'Rumores de la Caleta', after the malagueña; No. 7, 'En la Playa', a third barcarolle. Two pieces derived directly from Moorish forms are the 'Zambra' (*Douze pièces caractéristiques*, No. 7) and the 'Serenata árabe', an isolated composition. No. 12 of the *Pièces caractéristiques* is a serenata, 'Torre Bermeja', which illustrates the elementary transcription of the guitar style to the piano. Not provided for the player-piano, but well within the technique of a good amateur pianist, is a *Rapsodia Española*, written probably about 1890, which incorporates: (1) the 'Petenera de Mariani', (2) an original jota, (3) the 'Malagueña Juan Breva', and (4) that very happy Salamanca dance, 'Estudiantina'.

The works for piano written by Albéniz in the last period of his life, when he lived in Paris and yielded to the inspiration of the new school of French composers, are among the finest creations for that instrument, and entirely representative of the first stages in the modern development of the art of music. They

[1] The guzla is a type of one-string violin.

are mostly difficult; Albéniz himself, becoming stout in his last years, could not play all of them. They are difficult even for the player-pianist, and some, as the 'Jerez' of *Iberia*, are not effective upon the player-piano, owing to the involved writing.

Two pieces, a Prelude and an Asturias, are brought together under the title *Espagne*. The Prelude is a long, beautiful, comparatively simple *andantino* in D flat major. The Asturias is a song, *allegretto non troppo*, in F sharp minor. Experienced music lovers, desiring to enter at once into the absolute music of this composer, might make use of these two pieces. Amateur pianists whose experience is limited might select for the same purpose the set of six 'album leaves' entitled *España*: Prelude (in the Zaragoza manner), Tango, Malagueña, Serenata, Capricho Catalan, and Zortzico. These are not provided for the player-piano.

The zortzico, a northern dance in five-time, is worked by Albéniz into an exquisite composition which appears to have been written when he was on the threshold of his final period. This piece is named *Zortzico*, and is published by the Bureau d'Edition de la Schola Cantorum, Paris. Two great posthumous works for piano, left unfinished by the composer, are the *Azulejos*, a prelude inspired by the Alhambra, and *Navarra*, an elaborate art-expansion of the jota: the former was completed by Granados, the latter by Deodat de Sévérac; and both are published by the Bureau of the Schola Cantorum.

The set of twelve pieces wherein Albéniz fully asserted the high qualities and wide range of Spanish art-music is the *Iberia*. No. 1, 'Evocation', expresses the very heart of Spanish music, in poetic terms that are rare with Albéniz, who for all his interest in Spain was always a Catalan. Navarre and Andalusia are the regions he brings into this prelude to *Iberia*. The eleven numbers that follow are brilliant pictures of the localities implied in the titles: El Puerto, Fête-Dieu a Séville, Triana,[1] Almería, Rondeña, El Albaicín, El Polo, Lavapiés, Málaga, Jerez, and Eritaña. It is necessary to remain with *Iberia* for a long while in order to penetrate to the spirit behind the notes and rhythms and to discover the individuality of the various pieces. And it is probably essential that the student and music lover shall have acquired elsewhere a knowledge of Spanish music.

[1] Leff Pouishnoff, the Russian pianist, tells an amusing story of *Triana* and its treatment by a Manchester music critic. He plays the music in a version made by Godowsky. The critic remarked that Godowsky's amplification of the notes seemed to have converted the originally charming girl of Albéniz' fancy into an over-blown courtesan.

II. Granados. The nineteenth-century music of Liszt, Chopin, Grieg, and in less degree Schumann, so much influenced Granados that his music is less Spanish than general. He is a Spaniard in the way Rachmaninoff, for example, is a Russian: he writes to national, even regional, subjects, and native rhythms, melodies, and colours enter into his work at every turn; yet his work is not that of a national revivalist, nor again is it that of a modernist composer. The *Danzas Españolas*, twelve in number, are issued without determinate titles; and though we can refer some of them to their native origins, they are chiefly of interest as pieces of late nineteenth-century music. The Spanish flavour is more strongly marked in the *Seis Piezas sobre cantos populares españoles*,—Añoranza, 'Ecos de Parranda', Vascongada, Oriental March, Zambra, and Zapateado. The *Capricho Español*, Op. 39, is moderately attractive. The *Rapsodia Aragonesa* (1901) is refined, elegant, and (to the student who observes the art-treatment of the jota of Aragon) distinctively poetic. But only the *Goyescas* lift Granados into the foremost line of twentieth-century musicians, and of these it is chiefly by two numbers, *El Pelele* and *La Maja y el Ruiseñor* ('Quejas'), that he is proved a writer of genius. The first of these is rhythmically brilliant; the last is one of the most delicately poetical pieces of music in existence. Three further numbers from the *Goyescas*,—'Los Requiebros', 'Coloquio en la Reja', and 'El Fandango de Candil',—display the composer's very exceptional musicianship, though without the thoroughness of the other two.[1]

III. Manuel de Falla. Opera and the ballet have been the medium for the expression of Falla's mature art; and by the year 1928 only the first dance from *La vida breve* and the 'Danse Rituelle du Feu' had become familiar as piano pieces and found place in the player-piano (Ampico). The music written by him for piano consists only of four Spanish pieces from 1908 (*Aragonesa*, *Cubana*, *Montañesa*, and *Andaluza*), and a *Fantasía Baética* (1925). The four pieces, of early composition, yet marked by Falla's later refinement, strength, and exact poetic intelligence, are available for the player-piano; the very advanced *Fantasía* was recorded for the gramophone in 1926, but the record was withdrawn.

A work for piano and orchestra, *Noches en los jardines de España*, represents the purest poetry of the new Spanish music. It is occasionally to be heard at English concerts. The *Siete Canciones populares españolas*, Falla's most entirely familiar compositions, form an exquisite assembling of some of the more

[1] Eleven of Granados' compositions were played by the composer for the Hupfeld Electric Reproducing Piano.

distinctive elements of Spanish native music; these vocal pieces are: (1) 'El Paño moruno', (2) a seguidilla of Murcia, (3) an Asturiana, (4) a Jota (a particularly charming song), (5) a Berceuse, 'Nana', (6) a piece described simply as 'Canción', and (7) a specimen of the vivacious polo. Falla's *Homenaje*, a piece for guitar written in memory of Debussy, is probably the most highly organized composition for the Spanish guitar. An orchestral suite of dances from the ballet of *El sombrero de tres picos*, which is heard at English concerts, is among the opera and ballet selections that are published for piano solo.

IV. Joaquín Turina. In Turina's music the sharp, bright, hard qualities of Spanish art are even more pronounced than in that of Albéniz. Turina was born at Seville in 1882, and he has become known abroad chiefly by means of his *Procesión del Rocío*, an orchestral composition. Although his music is not so grateful to foreigners as is Falla's, he is one with Falla (and Conrado del Campo) in both the desire and the power to elevate Spanish art-music.

It happens that an exceptional quantity of Turina's works have been made available for study at the player-piano: *Coins de Séville* (No. 4, 'A los toros'); *Sevilla* ('Sous les Orangers',—'Le Jeudi Saint à Minuit', a procession,—and 'La Feria'); *Recuerdos de mi rincón* (a 'tragedia cómica', unintelligible without the printed copy of the music); *Album de viaje* ('Retrato',—'El Casino de Algeciras',—'Gibraltar', with the British National Anthem,—'Paseo Nocturno',—and 'Fiesta mora en Tánger'); and *Femme d'Espagne* ('La Madrilène Classique',—'L'Andalouse sentimentale',—and 'La Brune Coquette').

V. The French Composers. The following list includes the principal works on Spanish themes that are provided for the player-pianist.

Debussy: *Estampes*, No. 2 ('Soirée dans Grenade'); *Préludes*, No. 9, Book 1 ('La sérénade interrompue') and No. 3, Book 2 ('La Puerta del Vino').

With all music *en español*, it is helpful to know not only the region, or the town, or building, or event, expressed in the music, but even the particular portion of the locality or the individual detail of the event; and Spanish composers frequently give clues in their titles that we should follow up: Debussy adopted the native custom when he calls the second of these preludes 'La Puerta del Vino'.

Ravel: *Miroirs*, No. 4 ('Alborada del gracioso': very graphic music); *Rapsodia Espagnole:* (1) 'Prélude à la Nuit', (2) a Malagueña, (3) a Habanera, and (4) 'Feria'.

CHABRIER: *España* (Animatic music roll). SAINT-SAËNS: *La jota Aragonesa* (Animatic). MASSENET: ballet movements from *Le Cid* and *Don Quixote* (of little musical value.)

VI. LISZT wrote a *Rhapsodie Espagnole* on the old melody, 'Folies d'Espagne', and the jota of Aragon. MOSZKOWSKI wrote some dozens of conventional Spanish pieces: the *Album Espagnole*, the *Boabdil* Ballet, the *Spanish Dances*, Op. 12, a number of detached pieces (*Guitarre*, *Habanera*, etc.), and—best of all—the *Caprice Espagnol*, Op. 37, in A minor.

VII. There are innumerable compositions by Spanish writers of the second rank which are pleasant in themselves and instructive in the matter of Spanish rhythms, melodies, and moods. Many of these are to be had for the player-piano, as de la Cinna's *Jota Aragonesa*, Larregla's *Viva Navarra!* (or 'Siempre Pa Alante'), Nogués' *Jota Aragonesa*, and the *Rhapsodia Española* of Anselmo G. del Valle. And modernist composers often bring into their works Spanish rhythms and turns of melody, as Stravinsky in his *Étude pour Pianola* (Aeolian Company, London, Roll No. T 967).

Gramophone records are made in Spain and in Spanish America for local markets. These are rarely of a high musical value. The catalogues of the great companies in England and the United States contain many Spanish compositions, and as other works become known to the concert public the list will be expanded.

BIBLIOGRAPHY TO CHAPTER VIII

The bibliographical indications belonging to this chapter will be found in the text, pp. 242–250.

CHAPTER IX

SPAIN SINCE 1898

THE five years since the *coup d'état* of September 13, 1923, years during which Spain has contributed her full share to the peace and stability of the world after the War, serve to frame and throw into relief the more variegated events of the preceding quarter of a century in their stridency and picturesqueness. To Spain, as to England, the end of the nineteenth century brought war and change. The Spanish defeat in the American War of 1898 was followed by a revision of values in Spain. Cánovas had been assassinated in the preceding year and the Republican Castelar died in 1899. Although eloquence did not die with him, there was a growing feeling that one must get down by penetrating analysis to the bedrock of fact underlying hollow speeches and pompous display. The learned Aragonese, Joaquín Costa, demanded that seven turns of the key should be given to the Cid's tomb. The dead were to bury the dead. Spain never shows up better than when confronted with misfortune and an uphill battle, and the way in which at the beginning of the twentieth century Villaverde took in hand and restored the national finances without failing to honour any of Spain's foreign liabilities was worthy of her past history and permanently enhanced her credit abroad, even though his efforts to impose stringent economy proved unavailing.

The compact, begun in 1885, by which Liberals and Conservatives alternated in power continued to work with fairly satisfactory results until the War of 1914 brought new conditions to bear on an outworn system. The steady, discreet and courageous rule of Queen María Cristina during her seventeen years' regency has been alluded to in a preceding chapter: it was of material assistance in preserving the throne for her infant son who, like his father, began to reign at the age of sixteen (May 17, 1902). His marriage, four years later, to an English princess was another sign of a new period in Spain's history. It showed recognition of the fact that England, although in history she has often been Spain's enemy, is her natural friend and ally.

The saying, wrongly assigned to Portugal, is true of Spain: 'Con todo el mundo guerra y paz con Inglaterra.' [1] Spain hitherto in her external relations had maintained an attitude of courteous isolation, and at the outbreak of the Cuban conflict, followed by war with the United States, she had found herself alone.

The first years of the new century saw political changes as great as those of the last years of the nineteenth. The leader of the Federalists, Pí y Margall, died in 1901, and the celebrated Liberal leader, Sagasta, in 1903. In the latter year Nicolás Salmerón, one of the Presidents of Spain's ill-fated republic, was chosen as sole leader of the Republicans. It proved less easy to find an undisputed successor to Sagasta. The Liberal Party was full of prominent personalities who might differ little in political doctrine but were necessarily at odds in personal ambition. The votes for Montero Ríos and those for Moret were so nearly equal in number that neither of them felt able to accept the leadership, while the hour of the more Radical Canalejas had not yet come. The Conservative Party was more fortunate, for, although it also suffered from too many blue ribands, it possessed several men, and especially one man, of character and outstanding ability to carry on the traditions of Cánovas. In 1903 Villaverde again became Minister of Finance under Silvela, the leader of the Conservatives, and in 1905 he himself formed a short-lived ministry. But both Silvela and Villaverde died in 1906, and Maura, who had been premier in 1904 and was now in the prime of life, succeeded to the leadership of the Conservative Party. He was the chief personality of Spanish politics during the first quarter of the century, and possessing, in addition to a sensitive temperament, a keen sense of practical politics and of parliamentary debate, set himself to reform a hidebound and corrupt political system, and became a very splendid failure.

The fall of Maura and of Villaverde from office led to the return of the Liberals, but the Liberals were at sixes and sevens. First Montero Ríos, then Moret formed a ministry; in July, 1906, Moret, failing to receive from the King a decree to dissolve Parliament, resigned, and was succeeded by General López Domínguez. In November, however, Moret slyly upset the Government of fellow Liberals; yet when he came into office for the second time in the year he only succeeded in maintaining himself for a 'lightning ministry' lasting a few hours and made way for the octogenarian Marqués de Vega Armijo. More stable

[1] 'War with everybody and peace with England.'

government only came in with the return of Maura, who was premier during two and a half eventful years, from January, 1907 to October, 1909. The elections of 1907 emphasized the dissension in the Liberal ranks, which gave some opportunity to Republicans, Catalanists and Carlists; but the final results, an overwhelming Conservative majority, placed Maura in a strong position. His attention was engrossed by his Bill of Local Administration, which with unwearied patience and skill he piloted through the chamber in the face of continual obstruction. His conciliatory attitude was rewarded by the Bill being voted by the Chamber of Deputies in February, 1909. He also introduced a Bill for the reconstruction of the Navy in January, 1908. The total expenditure was to be £7,946,160. Three cruisers of 15,000 tons, three destroyers and twenty-four torpedo-boats were to be built and improvements made in the ports of Ferrol, Cartagena and Cádiz. Immediately before the War a new naval programme provided for the construction of three more cruisers, of 21,000 tons.

Maura's action was hampered by terrorist outrages and serious bomb-throwing at Barcelona. Despite this and the murder of the King of Portugal on February 1, 1908, King Alfonso visited the Catalan capital a few weeks later (March 10, 1908). Such courage deserved and met with an enthusiastic reception. The Government, politically so strong, had to face a serious situation in Morocco in the summer of 1909, when the Moorish tribes made a fierce attack on Melilla. Acting as any government worthy of the name must have acted, it immediately sent out the regiments which could most quickly relieve Melilla, those of the Barcelona garrison. The elements of disorder at Barcelona seized the occasion, and, after promoting a defeatist demonstration at the departure of the troops, organized a general strike on July 26, the first day of the 'tragic week'. Barricades were erected in the streets of Barcelona, fierce attacks were made on the convents, and while the Spanish were fighting against odds round Melilla a hundred persons were killed in the Barcelona streets. The Government once more acted with decision, many arrests were made, the 'lay schools' were closed, and one of their promoters, Francisco Ferrer, arrested earlier in the year, was tried, like the rest, by court martial. He was sentenced to be shot and was executed on October 13, the Premier refusing to interfere with the sentence. A week later, the Government fell, and Moret was in office. Señor Maura's rigidity in pursuing a course which he believed to be right, in the necessity of making an example and maintaining the authority of the Government, led

to the fall of his ministry and to ignorant mass demonstrations abroad. The new Government appointed General Weyler (created some years later Duke of Rubí) Captain-General of Catalonia, and his action was moderate and conciliatory.

This tragic episode at the end of July, 1909, proved how closely related were Spain's three chief internal problems, maintenance of order, the clerical question and Catalanism. The unpopularity of the war in North Africa was taken full advantage of by anarchist and other agitators, or rather by misrepresenting the objects and reasons of the campaign they rendered it unpopular and promoted their own revolutionary aims.

The Conference of Algeciras in 1906 gave international recognition to Spain's rights in Morocco, and, at the same period, in 1904 and in 1907, a closer bond was drawn between Spain and France and England, thus consulting Spain's real interests, whereas, as the Conde de la Mortera remarked at the time, with Germany Spain had no interests in common. More than one incident made it plain that in Morocco at least the action of Germany could not be beneficial to Spain. Differences arising with France led to the Treaty of 1912. Spain's international action in the Morocco question was hampered throughout by the absence of a strong united public opinion in Spain itself. Spain had received as her share in Morocco a barren mountainous region (inhabited by fierce warlike tribes) which was of a nature to tax any country's energies and resources. Some prominent politicians were of opinion that there could be no peace until the whole region was conquered ; others (they included General Primo de Rivera) wished to limit Spanish enterprise to the utmost, consistently with the security of a narrow strip along the coast. The Morocco question was further complicated by the status of Tangier. 'The internationalization of Tangier', said the Conde de la Mortera, 'reduces the problem of Morocco to that of a city, but keeps it alive in its entirety.'

In the first half of the year 1909, the Conservative Government's request for a special vote of credit for Morocco in order to restore order in the Spanish zone was denounced by the Liberals as a policy of conquest. On July 27 the Spanish met with a severe reverse in which a general and a thousand officers and men were killed and the Barranco del Lobo was added to the tragic names of Spain's history. Melilla was invested by the Moors. The rapid dispatch of reinforcements from Spain saved the town, and in September the military Governor of Melilla, General Marina, was able to send out a punitive expedition which captured the heights of Mt. Gurugú. This collapse of the Spanish

arms in Morocco was repeated after the War on a more disastrous scale when, in the summer of 1921, the Moors under command of the Riff leader Abd-el-Krim attacked and isolated the Spanish advanced positions. During the retreat from Annual the Spanish losses were very severe. The Moors surged up to the very walls of Melilla, which for some days was in serious danger. General Silvestre, who himself lost his life, either at his own or the enemy's hands, during the retreat, was blamed by public opinion for his precipitancy, while General Berenguer, sent out subsequently, incurred censure for delay in relieving the position of Monte Arruit, heroically defended by the Spanish under General Navarro. Equally heroic and equally tragic were the episodes which marked the defence of the posts of Sidi-Dris, Igueriben, Nador and Zeluan. In killed, wounded and prisoners the Spanish lost a total of twenty thousand men. The Army retaliated by fixing the blame on the hesitation, contradictions and delays of the politicians at home. There was a general demand for a sifting of responsibilities, and this, especially in Catalonia, became a political or subversive cry.

At the beginning of 1910 Moret was succeeded as premier by Canalejas. He was confronted by a serious strike situation in the summer at Bilbao, where martial law was declared in September. Otherwise his attention was mainly taken up with the clerical question. The so-called religious question came into Spain with the century: partly it was the effect of French Radical doctrines on Spanish Liberals and Radicals, partly it was due to the expulsion of the monks from France, when many of them took refuge in Spain, thus raising the question of the status of foreign members of religious communities in Spain. In 1901 Pérez Galdós' play *Electra*, which dealt with the undue influence of members of religious Orders in the family, was the occasion of excited scenes in the streets of Madrid. The Liberals considered that the time was come for them to imitate the example of Napoleon, who in December of 1808 declared: 'I have maintained the religious Orders in Spain but have limited the number of monks.' Maura's Convenio of 1904 had confirmed the Concordat of 1851 and authorized the existence of the religious communities in Spain while rendering them liable to equal taxation with other Spanish subjects and abolishing communities of under twelve members; but Maura fell before his Bill had been voted by the Chamber. In the autumn of 1906 a new Law of Associations, revising that of 1887, was presented to Parliament. It subjected all religious Orders in Spain, with the exception of those mentioned in the Concordat of 1851, to the civilian

authorities, to the Spanish State. The Concordat had mentioned by name two Orders (St. Vincent de Paul and St. Philip Neri), and a third anonymously, and the ingenious interpretation was put forward that two and one did not necessarily make three; the third Order might be a third Order in each district or diocese. Maura's Convenio of 1904 was denounced to the Vatican. In Parliament the Conservatives, with Maura at their head, opposed the new Bill; a formal protest was received by the Government from the Archbishop of Toledo in the name of the Spanish prelates; and there were street demonstrations and counter-demonstrations.

In 1910 the clerical question again became acute. The Government of Canalejas embarked on negotiations with the Vatican for the revision of the Concordat of 1851, but meanwhile, in May, 1910, it enacted that all Orders in Spain except the three of the Concordat must be registered civilly, thus putting in force a decree of Sagasta dating from 1902, the year before his death. In June the Government further allowed non-Roman Catholic religions in Spain the use of the external signs of their religion, as, for instance, crosses on their churches. A provisional measure, known as the padlock, ' Ley del Candado ', now forbade the establishment of more religious houses in Spain pending the result of the negotiations with Rome. This, said some critics, was to lock the religious Orders not out of but into Spain after they had been allowed free entry on their expulsion from France. There were anti-clerical demonstrations at Madrid, followed by huge clerical demonstrations at San Sebastián and elsewhere. Before the end of the year the Spanish Ambassador to the Vatican had left Rome. The artificial character of the clerical question in Spain was shown when soon after this it collapsed and ceased to be a prominent factor in practical politics, although Moret and other Liberal leaders had called it the most important question of the time. The services of the religious Orders in agriculture, education, culture and research have not always been sufficiently recognized; and there seems no reason why they should not be allowed to render similar services in industry and commerce, provided they have no unfair privileges. Certainly their expulsion in 1835 brought nothing but misery to the people, while it enriched many usurers.

In April, 1911, Canalejas reconstructed his ministry. He was kept in power as a kind of buffer state between the Conservatives and the extreme Left. The Republicans and Socialists attacked him, but without a real wish to overthrow him, fearing that his fall would lead to the return of the Conservatives; the Con-

servatives regarded him as a protection from the Radical revolutionaries. Between them they maintained him in office but paralysed his action. Yet Canalejas, pliant and tenacious, may have felt that time was on his side. When faced by strikes of a revolutionary character in 1911 and 1912, he showed firmness and decision, and this courageous attitude and the repression of disorders at Cullera (Valencia) sealed his doom. He was denounced by the less responsible newspapers as a traitor to radicalism and progress, and his murder followed in a few weeks at Madrid (November 12, 1912). He was succeeded as premier by Count Romanones, one of the ablest statesmen of his time. Maura considered that, in view of the general circumstances and the particular occasion, he should have been invited to form a ministry, and he retired from the leadership of the Conservative Party and resigned his seat in Parliament ; but ten days later he resumed the leadership and returned to an active part in politics.

In October, 1913, Count Romanones, the recognized leader of the Liberal Party after the death of Moret (1838–1913), and Montero Ríos (1832–1914), gave place to a Conservative ministry under Señor Dato, and it was Dato who was in office at the outbreak of the War. In 1915 he succeeded Maura as leader of the Conservative Party. He was characterized by unfailing discretion and moderation ; it was said of him that if he were to meet the Devil he would offer him a cigarette ; but he held his views definitely and could speak out on occasion, as when he commented on the revolutionary strike of August, 1917, or after the murder of Canalejas demanded that the penal laws should be more rigidly applied, pronouncements which caused him to be denounced as a reactionary and paved the way for his own assassination.

In 1914 Spain at once declared her neutrality ; it was the only possible course, as statesmen of all parties agreed, and it was more of a triumph for the Allies than the Allies generally realized. The Allies had comparatively little to offer Spain, while Germany held out the glittering baits of a free hand in Portugal and the possession of Gibraltar and Tangier. The Allies had little to fear from their enemies in Spain, for the latter were well aware that Spain must remain neutral and that her destinies were inevitably bound up with those of France and England. On the other hand, the Allies had a good deal to fear from their friends. In the first place there were the Catalans ; Catalan pro-Ally intrigues were in the rest of Spain felt to be primarily anti-Spanish or anti-Castilian. It was indeed easy for the Catalans to declare that

had Catalonia been independent she would not have been neutral : had Catalonia been independent of Spain she *could* not have been neutral. Count Romanones, a man of many enemies in Spain, was consistently pro-Ally (a fact which, in combination with his maintenance of Spain's neutrality when Premier, sufficiently proves how this was Spain's only possible policy during the War), while other prominent pro-Ally persons were the eloquent Don Melquíades Álvarez, the enigmatic politician Señor Lerroux, the narrowly Republican Blasco Ibáñez and the provocative Unamuno. None of these champions could really further the cause of the Allies in Spain. The Spanish army admired German discipline ; the Church did not admire recent French legislation. Señor Maura could declare in a speech at a great meeting in September, 1916, that France and England through three centuries of history had been hostile to Spain's progress, they had systematically weakened and belittled Spain since the days of Richelieu. Spaniards of character and learning were grateful to Germany for the part taken by her in the study of Spanish literature and art, and perhaps failed to realize as clearly as Menéndez y Pelayo had realized that the Germany of the twentieth century was a very different Germany from that of Goethe.

Spain's neutrality throughout the War was as loyal as it was inevitable ; it was appreciated in France, whose southern frontier was thus secure from attack. Spain was early able to distinguish between English and German methods in warfare ; by September, 1916, she had already lost thirty thousand tons of merchant shipping by the action of German submarines, sometimes accompanied by barbarous loss of life ; and the Germans persisted blindly in this course in the face of every Spanish protest. This naturally estranged Spain gradually from Germany ; while the prolonged and devoted labour of King Alfonso in tracing French and other prisoners in Germany won for him the permanent gratitude of the Allies. The advent of Count Romanones to power in 1915 made no difference to Spain's official attitude. He at once assumed that she would continue to observe the strictest neutrality. In July of the following year various strikes led to the declaration of martial law at Madrid, but it was 1917 that was the really significant year of social unrest. A railway strike in August was followed by a real attempt at a general revolutionary strike. Spain was under martial law from August to October. The real discontent in Spain was very little, but the agitators were most active, while the facility with which Liberals shaded off into Radicals, Radicals into Republicans, Republicans into Communists, often made the

situation difficult to deal with and led to such unholy alliances as that of the Lefts in 1917.

The personal popularity of King Alfonso XIII had sensibly weakened the Republican Party, and the Carlist cause had faded out of practical politics. Among Republicans there was not only disagreement but often bitter personal hostility, and they felt that they were acting in a vacuum, without any real popular support. On the other hand, the Socialist Party flourished, more perhaps than its intrinsic strength in the country warranted, owing to the personal prestige of its leader, Don Pablo Iglesias. The Unión General de Trabajadores, founded in 1888, had 127,000 members in August, 1912. In its moderate socialism it contrasted with the later and more revolutionary Confederación Nacional del Trabajo. The division between Socialists and Syndicalists was clearly marked, and in 1920 the moderates, being in a majority, were able to turn the scales against decision to adhere to the Third International. The danger of revolution lay not in the masses of the people, which were steady, loyal and Conservative, but in subversive international ideas disseminated among the workmen of the large towns and in the army. An anarchist like Nakens had been permitted freely to publish his newspaper, and the police did comparatively little to check the ignorant poison of revolutionary propaganda. At Barcelona, where politically and superficially Catalanism made so much play, the artisans were not really interested in Catalanism; they were inclined to view it with indifference and turned rather to anarchy and syndicalism. The Christian Democrat Party, founded in Spain by Señor Ossorio y Gallardo, could not make much headway against the fascinating doctrine that by murdering some moderate old statesman or inciting a few raw recruits to rebellion one was going to change the face of the world.

The activity of the military Defence Committees, constituted in April, 1916, had begun to make itself felt before the troubles of the summer of 1917 and weakened the action of the Government. On June 1, 1917, the Junta de Defensa, with Colonel Márquez at its head, issued a manifesto which, while declaring that it had no wish to be a political weapon, was a real challenge to the Government. Ministries began to topple over like ninepins. The Marqués de Alhucemas succeeded Count Romanones in April but resigned in June. Dato, as premier in that month (June, 1917), recognized the existence of the military committees, but he fell in October; and, after half a dozen political leaders had in turn found it impossible to accept the task of forming a ministry, the Marqués de Alhucemas was again sent for and

became premier in November. Thus there were four Governments in the year and many intervals of crisis. It was not expected that the path of the new Government would be easy, and in February, 1918, a lengthy crisis only ended when Maura was sent for and formed a national Government of premiers (including Romanones, González Besada, Alhucemas and Alba). This ministry was too eminent and excellent to last; in the beginning of November it broke up and one of its members, Alhucemas, formed a Government, with Romanones as his Foreign Minister. This arrangement proved fleeting, and in December Romanones became premier; but stable government was as far off as ever and the military committees were actively at work behind the scene.

A rapid succession of ministries marked the year 1919. In April Maura came into power, but the elections held in the summer proved unfavourable to the Government and in July he was succeeded by the veteran Conservative Sánchez de Toca, who in turn made way for the Maurist Allendesalazar in December. In January of the following year the Juntas de Defensa were 'transformed' into 'Informative Committees' by a royal decree dated December 30, 1919; but this specious piece of tinkering did not really mend matters: the change of name much resembled the cloth which was to be thrown over dead horses in the arena; only the Juntas remained very much alive, and the bull's horns of the difficult dilemma still pierced through the pretty lamb's fleece. In May Dato returned to power, but the elections held at the end of the year failed to give the Government a working majority. Early in 1921, however, the Premier was able to come to an agreement with the La Cierva group, which made it possible for him to govern. Dato's path now seemed politically clearer, but this happy event was immediately followed by his murder by anarchists on March 8, a peculiarly dastardly crime, for Dato was an old man, a moderate conciliatory statesman and a real friend of the people. He was succeeded by Allendesalazar, with Señor La Cierva as Minister of Public Works. Much was expected from the latter's energy, and he did in fact devise an elaborate plan of national reconstruction; but it was not to be carried out in a few weeks and the Government fell in January, 1922, the political crisis being once more intimately connected with the action of the military committees. Maura came into power with a royal decree in his pocket reorganizing and limiting the action of the committees, but Maura fell in March. In November his successor, Sánchez Guerra, signed a decree abolishing the military committees, but he found it con-

venient to resign a few weeks later during the heat of a parliamentary debate. The ministry formed by his successor, the Marqués de Alhucemas, in December, 1922, was the last Spanish constitutional government and lasted for nine months.

The cinematographic succession of ministries during the five years after the War were necessarily weak, and in their weakness the problems menacing Spain grew and prospered. Government completely lost control of the finances, it failed to maintain order, it hesitated and waited upon events in Morocco and in Catalonia. In the year 1921 anarchist, syndicalist or communist crimes and outrages were literally of daily occurrence. Governments rose and fell, and Parliament continued to debate eloquently. Well might the King complain in his speech at Córdoba that Parliament talked and nothing was done. All Spain's internal problems were closely connected and centred in the disaffection at Barcelona. This city was the hotbed of anarchy and terrorism, and the curious paradox resulted that Catalonia, in some ways the most advanced and progressive region of Spain, constantly acted as a drag on Spain's progress. That there were failures in understanding and administration on the part of the Madrid Government is not to be denied, but the central fact of the situation throughout has perhaps not been sufficiently appreciated: the fact that Catalan nationalism was essentially political and opportunist, its temporary programme was always provisional. In 1917 Prat de la Riba, President of the Catalan Mancomunidad, declared that 'We are separatists, but in a philosophical sense: the present moment is not suitable'. Well might the Central Government say with Sancho Panza: 'I know not such philosophies'; pronouncements such as this must be taken into account before judging the hesitations of the central Government in dealing with the Catalan question. Catalanism had little of a truly national character. In the same year, 1917, a leading Catalan nationalist remarked that 'We have to struggle against the passive indifference of a large portion of the [Catalan] people, which has not realized the advantages of nationalism'.

Catalanism was organized by small political groups, often mutually antagonistic, at Barcelona, and its final aims were always ill defined, transparently clear as might be its immediate programme. It began by calling itself regionalist; regionalism was converted into nationalism; nationalism merged into separatism; and beyond separatism loomed the amazing vision of pancatalanism and a Catalan Mediterranean empire. To win certain positions not as a final settlement but as a basis and fresh

starting-point for further demands and advance was constantly the Catalanist policy. This was no case of oppression or even of maladministration on the part of the Government of Madrid. It was noteworthy that the more prosperous Catalonia, or at least Barcelona, grew under—or, as the Catalanists preferred to say, despite—the central administration, the more strident Catalanism became, while full advantage was taken of any crisis, internal or external, in which Spain might happen to be involved. As to Catalan administration, as opposed to the political organization in which admittedly the Catalans excelled, it is by no means certain that it was superior to that of Castile. When given a free hand in administration, the Catalan Mancomunidad entered on a policy of extravagant expenditure, of which many remarkable instances could be given; and when the Mancomunidad was finally abolished by the Military Directory in 1925 many of its critics held that it was on the high road to financial ruin. The real demands of the Catalanists were tersely if cruelly described by an opponent as 'autonomía con subvención'. We must be independent but not separate, said the Catalans. The delicate distinction might be paraphrased as follows: 'You are to recognize us as a free state, with separate parliament, government, laws and language; but you are to continue to protect our industries by a high tariff, you are to prevent us from being absorbed by France or any other foreign power, you are to provide us with railway and postal services, you are to guarantee our prosperity and independence until we are in a position to absorb you'. Such in sum had come to be the meaning of federal autonomy and other Catalanist political cries; small wonder that the action of the Central Government was always fettered by the feeling that they were treading on a quicksand.

Modern political Catalanism dates from the last years of the nineteenth century, and it developed rapidly on such occasions as the war with the United States, the war in Morocco and the Great War. It was in 1882 that Valentín Almirall founded the Centre Català, and five years later dissidents from this formed the Lliga de Catalunya. Fresh divisions led to the foundation of the Unió Catalanista in 1892, which in its meeting at Manresa adopted as its political creed a programme known as the Bases de Manresa. The same year marked the beginning of terrorism and bomb-throwing at Barcelona. In 1899, after the war with the United States and when General Polavieja in office had proved powerless to carry out his Catalan programme (which represented but a small part of the aspirations of the Catalanists), the presence of a French fleet at Barcelona was made the occasion

of anti-Spanish demonstrations, rendered the more significant by the fact that Admiral Fournier, perhaps in ignorance, stood up to the singing of the revolutionary 'Els Segadors'. Scenes not dissimilar were witnessed after the Great War, when Marshal Joffre visited Barcelona. When Dato, then Minister of the Interior, was at Barcelona in the spring of the following year (1900) he was systematically hooted in the streets of the generally so courteous and hospitable Catalan city.

The Catalan Polaviejistas had founded the Unió Regionalista, while dissidents from the Unió Catalanista joined to form the Centre Nacionalista Català; after their success in the elections of 1901, these two new groups coalesced to form the Lliga Regionalista. It was at this time that the able Radical and Republican politician, Señor Lerroux, obtained a strong political hold on the masses at Barcelona; he was held by his opponents to be an emissary of the Liberal Government at Madrid, a kind of lightning conductor to render the Lliga innocuous. When in 1904 King Alfonso visited Barcelona, he was welcomed by part of the Lliga with Señor Cambó as its spokesman; those members of the Lliga who did not approve of this action severed themselves from it and founded the Centre Nacionalista Republicà. On November 25, 1905, in retaliation for a caricature in a Catalan comic paper insulting the Spanish Army, a group of officers wrecked the offices of the Catalan newspaper *La Veu*, an act which excited great indignation at Barcelona and ultimately led to the famous 'Law of Jurisdictions'. This was introduced to Parliament in 1905 by the War Minister, General Luque; it subjected offences against Spain or against the Spanish Army to military tribunals; it was voted by Parliament in 1906 in a modified form, that part of it which concerned the Army being maintained.

The advent of a Conservative Government at Madrid had strengthened the Lliga at Barcelona, and it triumphed in the elections of 1905, and, after Regionalists, Unionists, Integralists, Federalists and Nationalists had united at Gerona (on February 11, 1906) to form the Solidaridad Catalana, triumphed again over Lerroux in the elections of April, 1907. In the following year, however, the Radicals defeated the Solidarios, and in 1909 Federalists, Republicans, Nationalists and Unionists left the Solidaridad and founded the Unió Federalista Nacionalista Republicana, which broke up five years later, when in 1914 the Nationalists united with Lerroux and the Radicals to contest the elections. In 1909 Señor Cambó, an able and active politician with a strong sense of reality and a reasonably opportunist policy, had supported Maura's Local Government Bill in

the Chamber. Two years later, the Catalan proposal that the four Catalan provincial Governments of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lérida and Gerona should be fused into a single Catalan administration or Mancomunidad was accepted by Canalejas, who passed a Bill to that effect through the Chamber of Deputies in July, 1912. After his murder the matter was taken up by Count Romanones, and finally Señor Dato as premier passed the measure by royal decree, and in April, 1914, the Catalan Mancomunidad became a fact under its first president, Señor Prat de la Riba.

During the War large fortunes were made by Catalans through trading with the Allies, and if Catalan manufactures scarcely had time to put themselves on a permanent basis of prosperity, part of Catalonia nevertheless was prosperous as never before when the War ended. It was therefore naturally impressed by President Wilson's pronouncement in favour of nationalism and self-determination. Señor Cambó now became frankly autonomist, and Catalonia was not slow to put forward her demands. It was in fact but a few days after the Armistice when, at the end of November, 1918, a definite and detailed demand for autonomy was presented by the Catalanists to the premier, Marqués de Alhucemas, who refused to commit himself. The answer to the Catalanist message was given by his successor, Count Romanones, on December, 1918. It did not evade but postponed the issue and took the form of appointing a committee to inquire into the possibility of granting home rule to the various regions of Spain. The Catalan movement for autonomy found an echo in Galicia, and, more especially, one of a more pronounced separatist character, in the Basque Provinces, or rather at Bilbao, to which Bizkaitarrism was mainly confined in the same way as Catalanism was mainly limited to Barcelona.

The Spanish reverse in Morocco in the summer of 1921 made the Madrid Government especially nervous in dealing with the Catalan question, since it was obvious that the political consequences of the reverse would be especially grave in connection with the demands of the Catalanists, who had never failed to exploit a crisis. It was the incapacity of weak, fleeting, incompetent ministries to deal effectively with the situation at Barcelona arising out of the military defeat of 1921 that was the chief, if not the only, reason for the *coup d'état* of September, 1923. When the Military Directory seized and held the Catalanist nettle firmly and provided Barcelona with an efficient non-political police, difficulties disappeared as if by magic. The great mass of Catalans, who had held aloof from the politicians, had remained loyal, Spanish and Monarchist ; and the political

groups, aware of the weakness and artificiality of their position, always perceived with exquisite tact when it was advisable for them to 'lie low'. It would be a great mistake to infer that Catalanism is dead and the Catalan problem definitively solved; it is only, as usual, biding its time; a weak Government at Madrid would immediately restore it to its former prominence, paralysing the best energies of the nation. Its dramatic collapse at the end of 1923 does not imply that Catalanism was not dangerous but that it was artificial, a political system of cleverly manipulated 'estridencias'. That it should thus yield immediately and unconditionally to a Government which, without acting despotically, knows its own mind, may have very important political consequences. It used sometimes to be said that the problem of Barcelona must be solved at Lisbon. The converse of this may perhaps prove true, for if a strong Government at Madrid can rule Catalonia in peace, there seems no reason why it should not equally well govern a united Iberia. It is not really natural for the rivers Duero and Tajo to possess two names, and a new defensive and offensive alliance between England and Spain and the South American Republics may be less distant than now appears.

It is a rather remarkable fact that almost identical words have been used to describe the condition of Spain under the rule of the political parties and to describe the condition of Spain under the rule of the Military Directory which overthrew the political parties and undid their work. A revolutionary Radical, Don Marcelino Domingo, could thus describe the situation: 'the soil uncultivated, woods, mines and rivers neglected, the villages without schools and unconnected by roads; the coasts without ports; regions of abundant raw material without industries; emigration on a large scale both of men and money; municipal and parliamentary government decadent and set aside; the suffrage corrupted; trial by jury suspended; liberty of thought persecuted; workmen's associations broken up; the prisons crowded; the fundamental laws of the Constitution suspended and measures of repression adopted which have been rejected by every modern code'. Clearly there is exaggeration in this indictment, but the significant point is that it was made not under the Military Directory, when some enlightened minds would have us believe that Spain groaned in chains, but a few years before the Military Directory came into power. The situation alike as regards the finances, parliamentary government, unrest and the problems of Morocco and Catalonia had certainly become so unsatisfactory that a social

of acres under beet-sugar cultivation increased by 75,000 between the years 1911 and 1918. A good example of the elasticity of Spain's prosperity, an elasticity common to agricultural countries (and in Spain a quarter of the population is engaged in agriculture), is the fact that her mercantile marine, which in the year before the War had a tonnage of 877,000, with 864 boats, two years after the War (during which it had suffered heavy losses by German submarines, amounting to about a hundred thousand tons) had a tonnage of a million, with 1,192 boats.

Spain, the country of the bullfighter and dancer, is also the country which, with the painter Picasso, initiated Cubism and has given to the world the La Cierva gyroscope. In motoring and flying, both congenial to individualism, Spain has already won triumphs and may be expected to play a prominent part. But in no field of intellectual life can it be said that she has lagged behind in the twentieth century. To mention but one name in each case or a couple when a dozen could be given, painters such as Sorolla and Don Ignacio Zuloaga, musicians such as Arbos and Falla, men of science such as Ramón y Cajal, scholars such as Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal, sculptors such as Mariano Benlliure, Inurria or Julio Antonio ; orators such as Maura and Melquíades Álvarez, singers such as Fleta, an actress such as María Guerrero : these are names of which any country might be proud. In literature there has been at once a revival and a revolution. The Generation of 1898, enemies of rhetoric, have been succeeded by a generation even more subtle, and sometimes unintelligible to the profane ; some of them are literary cubists and some are regarded as being the full expression of that earlier generation ; indeed, we find Azorín thirty years later, in 1928, exhorting young writers to become even more radical in their methods. This brilliant group of younger writers it is still too early to judge ; but a country which has recently produced such writers as those dealt with in Chapter V (see pp. 168–82), can be denied by none a place of honour in the modern literary world.

In certain respects, such as failure to keep pace with a mechanical civilization which has but little attraction for a nation of individualists and artists, or to adopt unreservedly the ideals of size and speed for their own sake, Spain has been a backward country, but she has never been a decadent country. Spain, whose social legislation is in some ways in advance of that of the other countries of Europe, has been backward in matters of schools, railways, roads and sanitation ; but in these

respects, in all of which much progress has been made of recent years, Spain is not to be judged by foreign, northern standards or without intimate acquaintance with her climate, geography and character. A dry sunny climate may support conditions which would be fatal in a wet gloomy climate. The average of mortality stands high in Spain, and the sanitary conditions prevailing in the poorer quarters of some of the large towns have seemed calculated actively to encourage it; infant mortality is especially high; but there has been recent improvement in this, and the Queen has thrown herself into this and other beneficent campaigns with unflagging interest. As to the roads and railways, only those who have travelled in this abrupt and mountainous country can realize the difficulties to be overcome; but here again Spain's roads and principal railways are a revelation to those who now revisit the Peninsula after an interval of a quarter of a century. The failure of the provinces in the most elementary conditions of sanitation, schools and roads was due less to an incapacity to administer than to constant lack of funds, except in the Basque Provinces, which had a special agreement with the State.

On the matter of education foreign travellers in Spain usually have a sad tale to relate. They are completely horrified to discover that in some districts over half the entire population is illiterate, although by law attendance at school has been compulsory for nearly a century; they declare that there is a shortage of ten thousand schools; and they point in unfeigned amazement to the established fact that they have seen or heard of a village mayor who was unable to sign his name. There is a great deal of ignorance in all this criticism. Spain has not yet entirely confused intelligence with book-learning. The peasant mayor who cannot read or write has sound sense and a knowledge of men and of the management of affairs. Those who know Spain best know that the uneducated Spanish peasants who have preserved their ancient traditions are in intelligence, originality and essential practical knowledge, not to speak of happiness, as superior to the mechanical product of modern schools as they are in sobriety, dignity, good manners and the very purity of their speech. Most travellers in Spain, even when bewailing the backwardness of book-learning, have paid glowing tributes to the splendid qualities of the illiterate Spanish peasantry as to the splendid qualities of the illiterate Spanish women. Spain has been and is a happy country, and those who visit it are made to realize that civilization is as much a matter of the heart as of the head.

In higher and technical education, in the establishment of the Residencia de Estudiantes at Madrid (where a great new university is now being started), in historical studies and research work (in which some of the religious Orders have taken a considerable part), progress has been rapid in the twentieth century. It has been equally marked in the more efficient methods of agriculture and the establishment of model farms. Here and in every other field of progress King Alfonso XIII's influence has been very active and stimulating. Quite apart from Conservative or Radical, Monarchist or Republican principles, the plain fact remains that the King has done more for Spain than any other living man and accordingly not only as King of Spain but as a great Spaniard he is honoured. His love of Spain, his courage and sympathy have won him the love of the Spanish people and popularity at Barcelona, Paris and London; his quickness and serenity are proverbial and were displayed when a bomb was thrown at his carriage on the occasion of his wedding in 1906 and when an Anarchist fired two shots at him in April, 1913. Attacks on the King such as those of Señor Unamuno in 1922 and of the late Señor Blasco Ibáñez stultify themselves because, while ostensibly made in the interests of Spain, they ignore the great work done for Spain by the King and are thus as much based on ignorance as was the zeal of certain English pro-Riffian supporters of Abd-el-Krim which totally ignored the treachery and cruelty constantly practised by the Riff rebels.

Economically, Spain's progress was warped by the high protective tariff demanded by Catalan manufactures. The tariff of June, 1906, for instance, introduced by a Liberal Government, was as protective as its predecessors, while, after the War, the tariff of December, 1920, showed an increase of between 50 and 200 per cent. on 131 imports, apart from the enforcement of payment in gold, which led France to retaliate by imposing new duties on Spanish wines.

Spain's finances have been thoroughly artificial since the advent of a metallic unremunerative wealth brought in gold bars from the New World in the sixteenth century. The Treasury has fed on instead of fostering the resources of the country. It cannot be said, however, that a budget of some forty millions sterling, as it was before the War, was too large for a country of great agricultural wealth and other resources. In 1905, Villaverde, and after him Echegaray, Finance Minister in the Montero Ríos Cabinet, was balancing the budget at a thousand million pesetas. Before the War this had increased by about

a fifth. The first after-war budget, that of 1919, for the first time exceeded two thousand millions, and this rapidly rose to three (roughly equal to a hundred millions sterling). From 1898 to 1908 budgets had shown a small surplus; from 1909 to 1913 there were deficits, less large on paper than in reality, owing to the method of providing for supplementary supplies by means of loans. This easy rather than sound system was continued after the War, when a series of weak Governments proved unable to cope with the financial groups on which they depended for loans, and they failed likewise to derive advantage from the growing wealth of the country. Señor Alba as Finance Minister attempted in vain to tax war profits in 1915. The estimates for the budget of 1921–1922 gave an initial deficit of twenty millions sterling; that of the preceding year had resulted in a deficit of over thirty millions, nearly the whole pre-war revenue. Even so, the acknowledged deficits gave no true idea of the State finances; successive Governments became more and more inclined to drift and to cover expenditure by means of loans which were usually raised with facility and pointed to with pride as an indication of the country's prosperity, but which really drained away money from being remuneratively employed in the soil, industries and mines. Thus the paradox continued of a naturally rich country being only artificially prosperous and of a country of great resources remaining partly stagnant. In July, 1920, a three hundred million pesetas four and a half per cent. loan was covered in four weeks. Under the Military Directory the Finance Minister Señor Calvo Sotelo's funding operation in February and March, 1927, introduced a new and far sounder financial era in Spain. It provided for the conversion of 5,225 million pesetas from Treasury notes into fifty-year five per cent. bonds, with an ultimate saving to the nation in 1977 of close upon a thousand million pesetas.

The floating debt, consolidated in 1905 and again in 1919, on October 1, 1919 stood at 12,456 million pesetas. In the three thousand million budget of 1919–1920, half the expenditure went in service of the Debt (1,383 millions) and pensions (88 millions); the War Office (375 millions) and Spain's action in Morocco (141 millions) accounted for over a sixth. Clearly there could be little left for expenditure on education (107 millions) or public works (211 millions). Of the revenue 176 millions came from the State lottery, 159 from the tobacco monopoly, 184 from the Customs. Thus a very small part of the yearly expenditure was of a remunerative nature. Spain can at any time become the richest nation in Europe, provided

capital be put into her agriculture, mines and industries. It has been generally felt that the various problems intimately connected with these activities,—the problems of roads, railways, ports, trees and water—require to be given a lift together by one great economic effort. Weak and unstable ministries could do no more than dally with this idea of national reconstruction, another objection being the ruinous contract system by which most of the money was likely to disappear before it reached the land. Thus a project to spend £60,000,000, or about twice the total yearly revenue, on irrigation, afforestation, roads and harbour works came to nothing in 1910, as did Señor La Cierva's carefully worked out scheme in 1921. Finally a special reconstructive budget was introduced by the Directory on July 9, 1926, and provided for the expenditure of sixteen hundred million pesetas on public works (railways, roads and harbours), 1,508 millions on national defence (the Army, Navy and Aviation) and two hundred millions for education. Sixteen hundred millions is about half the total expenditure of an ordinary budget. That of the year 1927 showed a small surplus of 26,800,000 pesetas (or about one million sterling), with a total revenue of 3,215,500,000 pesetas. For the first time in twenty years no loan was raised, so that the surplus is not a merely nominal one, while expenditure in Morocco sank to under three millions sterling. Under these circumstances of a sounder and more stable finance in a naturally rich country Spain's future, unless unforeseen events interfere, may be looked forward to with great confidence.

A greater gain than any immediate wealth was brought to Spain during the War by the closer relations with Spanish America, which had hitherto often only approached Spain through Paris. Many excellent Spanish products had been sold under foreign trade-marks, partly owing to the fact that if admitted to be Spanish they would have been less appreciated, partly also with the connivance of the Spanish seller in order to escape payment of a higher tariff. Spanish olive-oil was sold as of Genoa, Spanish wines and preserves were French, boots of Bilbao or Madrid masqueraded as Viennese, fans and mantillas as articles fabricated in Paris; Catalan cotton-goods received a Hamburg mark, Toledo knives were marked Solingen, even the swords of Eibar and Toledo were not admitted to be Spanish, and sardines caught in Spanish waters became French as soon as they were tinned (in Spain). A change now occurred in this, but even more important were the new spiritual and literary ties that bound Spain to the Spanish-speaking world during and after the War.

Spanish manufacturers after the War were still prosperous, but their wealth was more precarious; they were faced by foreign competition, their plants required renewal, the War demand for their goods was at an end, salaries and the cost of transport rose, strikes and labour trouble became frequent. On the other hand, wealth became more equally distributed throughout the country, the rise in prices bringing wealth to the agricultural towns of the interior (to that Castile which had been sacrificed economically since the sixteenth century), and emigration, amounting to at least 200,000 yearly before the War, received a permanent check. While Spanish imports diminished there was an increased demand (due to the many new rich in Spain and the arrears of the War years when importation was difficult) for motor-cars and other luxuries. The balance of trade in Spain's favour in 1917, showing an excess of exports over imports to the value of about five hundred million pesetas, veered round to an unfavourable balance of roughly the same amount in 1920. Some idea of Spain's position before, in and after the War may be derived from figures of some of the exports in the years 1913, 1917 and 1918: manufactured articles, under a million pesetas in 1913, rose to twenty-one millions in 1917 and stood at fourteen millions in 1918; the figures for cotton for those three years were three, twenty-five and six millions; olive-oil, thirty, eighty-one and twenty-three; ordinary wines, ninety, one hundred and forty and forty-eight; rice, eight, thirty-three (in 1915) and five.

Until September, 1923, Spain's progress was rather individual than national; the country, which had become one of the richest in Europe, was faced by ever-increasing deficits, and the prosperity of individual groups and of whole regions was a source of actual weakness to the State. It remained for the Spanish Army, with General Primo de Rivera as its spokesman, to insist that Spain must come first, that the State was no impersonal abstraction, to be gulled and pillaged by the individual, but represented the common interest of all. It was indeed the new personal note brought into the dealings of the State, the new direct contact between the rulers and the nation that gave the new *régime* its popularity in Spain. The Spanish are not only a proudly conservative but a very practical people. In a sense they are rather twenty-five millions of Spaniards than a nation, and the politicians lament that neither in foreign policy nor in the question of Tangier, elections, administration of the laws, finances or parliamentary debates could they ever feel a strong body of public opinion at their back. It is a plea which, while it explains their inaction, justifies their disappearance. The nation was

willing to endure the politicians so long as the result was mainly wordy parliamentary debate, but when under cloak of this political barrenness and incapacity a number of cliques and small minorities, syndicalist, communist or separatist, began to make the life and action of the nation impossible, it was not sorry to see the politicians swept off the board. The murder of sincere friends of the people, Canalejas and Dato, and of the aged Archbishop of Zaragoza, had the effect of rendering such anarchist outrages the more execrable in the eyes of the nation.

It is a mistake to think that Spain's recent internal troubles were due to any real discontent, to misery and oppression. One has no hesitation, after long and close observation, in saying that the Spanish people is one of the happiest, although certainly not the gayest, in Europe. It is only on paper, in the bitter rhetoric of the ambitious and disappointed politician or in the imagination of the doctrinaire that the Spanish nation is in chains. Where not due to the machinations of international agitators, the troubles were growing pains, which in Catalanism, Bizkaitarrism and agrarian trouble accompanied not a diminished but an increased and increasing prosperity. Señor Dato had gone to the heart of the matter when he declared that the revolutionary movements were the work of a few wire-pullers. Whatever illusions the demagogues had raised among the people were rapidly dispelled, and the nation began to hold aloof from political labels and sounding phrases; it became determined to judge the tree not by its bark or colour but by its fruit.

So long as Conservatives and Liberals were working against one another at Barcelona, alternately encouraging the revolutionary Radicals and the Catalanists, so long as the Army and civilian officials were at cross-purposes in Morocco, while the national finances were regarded as the spoils of office and political democracy consisted in paying deference to the loudest shouter, there could be little hope of peace or efficiency. The military *coup* of September was received with misgivings by all thoughtful persons, which the first impulsive pronouncements of General Primo de Rivera did little to dispel. This general, who raised the standard of revolt at Barcelona, was a man of about fifty, and had had a very distinguished military career. An Andalusian, born at Jerez de la Frontera, he is the nephew and heir of the first Marqués de Estella, who played a prominent part in and after the second Carlist War. When he spoke of the Military Directory coming to rule for but three months it seemed evident that chaos was ahead. The fear of militarism, the previous

administrative record of the Army, the knowledge that such a movement implicated the Throne itself and cut at the roots of the Constitution sufficed to make wise men shake their heads. The wise men were wrong. The Army, the nation and King Alfonso saw farther than they. It had indeed become clear that when Maura, with all his energy, talent, sincerity, recognized probity and good-will, with his strong character and wide prestige, had failed to reform the bureaucratic administration or to make of politics a vital interest in the country instead of a machinery worked from the Ministry of the Interior at Madrid, the system would not and could not be altered by constitutional methods. The fact that the military *coup* was carried through without the loss of a single life was largely due to the prompt and decided action of the King in accepting the new situation. Had he hedged and hesitated, as a weak man would, something like civil war might have resulted, but his ability to read a situation with lightning speed and accurately to gauge the feelings and wishes of the great mass of the nation stood him in good stead.

General Primo de Rivera soon made it clear that he had not come to serve any section of the nation; he was not political but national; if he was occasionally harsh in dealing with individuals or groups, he acted honestly in the interests of the nation, over which small minorities had been tyrannizing too long. No impartial person will deny that all legitimate enterprises were protected and fostered by the new *régime*. It soon became plain that Primo de Rivera was not a man to turn back after putting his hand to the plough and that he was both strong and moderate. While a few ousted politicians, disgruntled Republicans and jaundiced intellectuals as refugees in Paris were telling the world that Spain was pining under a despotism, Primo de Rivera, with his hand on the pulse of the nation, realized that its real aspiration was to be allowed to get on with its work in peace, and his absolutism proved to be the truest democracy after all. With the devoted assistance of General Martínez Anido and the other generals of the Directory, he grappled successfully with the Catalan problem, the Communist menace and the problem of Morocco. A more efficient city-police, together with the Somatenes and the Civil Guard, maintained order throughout Spain, which may be traversed through its length and breadth with perfect security, while an undivided command brought success in North Africa, in which General Sanjurjo brilliantly co-operated. The increased prosperity of the country enabled the new Government to grant a wider

measure of local autonomy than had hitherto been possible without either depleting the Treasury or leaving the local authorities with nominal power but no real means of action.

The greatest surprises of all were General Primo de Rivera's success in dealing with the Army, with Morocco and, a year or two later, with the national finances. When a few crack artillery regiments sought to impose themselves, he faced the situation and subdued them as he would have subdued a Catalanist or a Communist rising. It was but natural that the Army, after its recent defeats, should wish to indemnify itself by some spectacular successes in North Africa. Yet Primo de Rivera imposed on the Army the self-denying ordinance of retiring from the advanced positions in North Africa, so that it soon became possible to repatriate troops, while the capture of Alhucemas, hitherto deemed impossible or fraught with great loss of life, was carried through without a hitch. A letter from Maura in June, 1924, declaring that power was now in the hands of the military Juntas and that the Directory was their tool, elicited an immediate and forcible reply from General Primo de Rivera to the effect that the Juntas had ceased to exist. They do not exist ; they *should* not exist, he added. The fact was that the Juntas, like Catalanism and Communism and a host of other small interests ready to mask themselves under national colours, were in the background : they collapse and fade away before a strong Goverment, but would revive in their full strength under a weakened ministry.

Spain has always grown speedily prosperous in a period of internal peace. Her individualism, delightful socially, may politically become a source of paralysis unless a strong Central Government holds it in check, when it turns to hard work instead of catchwords and political meetings and becomes a means of fruitful energy. Spain's resources are an object of envy to other nations. The same country produces the palm and pine, rice and rye, cider apples and cane sugar ; its variety is astonishing ; even the wheat crops vary in different regions to such an extent that the yield per acre in the Segovia district in the 1916–1917 season was exactly one half the yield per acre in the district of Zaragoza. Prosperity makes present-day Spain a very different country from the Spain of 1900. The tramps and pedestrian pilgrims have been replaced on the roads of Spain by the motor-car and motor-omnibus ; football (or *fútbol*, a horrible barbarism which makes one more doubtful as to Spain's future than a dozen subversive pamphlets written in total ignorance of the national conditions), which in 1900 was unknown in Spain, now

attracts large crowds ; we are told, indeed, that the game originally came up to Europe through Spain from the Berbers. It is of course quite possible that a materially prosperous Spain may lose her soul, and that her cities may develop at the expense, so to speak, of the walls of Zamora, while posters and hoardings and modern hotels may be allowed to deface her hitherto unspoilt natural beauties ; but one may comfort oneself with the thought that so individual a country will lose its soul in its own way, while the promotion of tourism by the active efforts of the Marqués de Vega Inclán proves that such progress may be accompanied by good taste. The fact remains that under the Directory Spain is hard at work, and that with the development of her mines, her water-power and electricity, her industries and agriculture, including the cultivation of cotton, rice and sugar, she will be a country to profit more than others from improved labour conditions and more rapid means of transport, for she possesses a vital wealth by comparison of which her gold reserve of nearly a hundred millions sterling is a mere trifle.

The weakness of the Directory lay in the fact that it was not, like Fascism, political ; it had to create its political supporters ; and this it did with more success than might have been anticipated in the creation of the Patriotic Union Party. But, even with a political party to support it, the situation remained plainly revolutionary ; it was not enough for the Directory to be moderate and national, it was imperative to return gradually to constitutional methods and not to leave the Monarchy in the air ; obviously, under a less able or less popular sovereign or with a Government less truly representative of the nation, the situation would become dangerous. There was no real wish to overthrow the Constitution of 1876, but to place it on a smooth working basis after so sudden an upheaval was a delicate matter. This was the real significance of the change from military to civil government after three years and of the meeting of the National Assembly in 1927. It is easy to say that this Assembly was not representative, that its powers were vague, without legislative authority ; yet it did stand for the vital forces of the nation to a greater extent than the previous parliaments. It should not be forgotten that the last parliaments were composed mainly of personal and fragmentary groups to the total number of about twenty (it varied slightly in different parliaments). There were Maurists and Datists and Ciervists, Romanonists and Albists, Liberals and Conservatives, Reformists, Traditionalists, Radicals, Integralists, Republicans, Democrats,

Socialists, Regionalists, Independents; so that a Government had some difficulty in obtaining a working majority.

Spain has no policy of external conquest; she is content to develop her internal resources and guard her southern frontier by retaining a strip of the coast of North Africa. If she demands Tangier, that is only because from the Spanish point of view an internationalized Tangier is both unjust and absurd: a thorn in the side of her Protectorate. Spain's real future hegemony is spiritual, to realize and impose that essentially Spanish civilization which is a little different from that of other European countries but is more and more appreciated by them, and to embody it in a literature of surpassing splendour. If the new facilities in communication, which has always been Spain's weak point, result in a previously undreamed-of efficiency in distribution, then, taken together with the revival of ceramics and other delightful individual un-mechanical arts in which Spain has always excelled, it may lead to a real and most beneficent revolution and bring happiness and prosperity to millions of homes in which individual work will to some extent replace the factories; and no one works harder than the Spaniard when he is cultivating his own garden.

There is another revolution which no successful *coup d'état* can bring to pass. The Church in Spain, now as in the past, is in a strong position. Those who draw a sharp line between the letter and the spirit often fail to see that forms and services and dogmas are barren and meaningless so long but only so long as vital faith is absent. A renewal of faith gives fresh significance to what was apparently nothing but a dead and empty formula; it makes the rod of Aaron to grow green and blossom and necessarily gives an immense impetus to art and progress. As to the Spanish Monarchy, it lies in the hearts of the Spanish people, of the nation. It might be overthrown temporarily, with comparative ease, through the action of a small group of intellectuals or Communists with international support, but such action would have little to do with the Spanish nation, which would be the chief sufferer in the resulting chaos. On the question whether Church and Monarchy are, as in the heroic sixteenth century, to become vital principles or are to be regarded as venerable antiquities depends the question whether Spain's future will be marked by greatness or stagnation. As to her relations with other peoples, she is a country of inexhaustible resources, with a world language, a magnificent literature, and a population of constant energy. She is a steadfast friend of her friends; so that her friendship is greatly worth

while. There is something precious in her very aloofness; and those who now revisit Spain are best able to appreciate how wisely she has retained her individuality despite the amazing progress made by her in every field.

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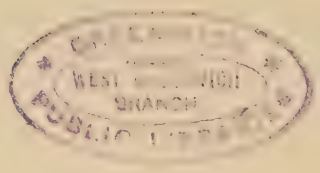

SPAIN

English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Kilometres
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160

BAY OF BISCAY

Cantabrian Mountains

Pyrenees

Gulf of Lions

Gulf of Cadiz

Gulf of Valencia

Gulf of Almeria

Str. of Gibraltar

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

BALEARIC ISLANDS

Mallorca

Menorca

Ibiza (Iviza)

Formentera

Espalmador

Espardell

Pt. Cala Burras

Pt. de la Almina

Pt. Marroqui

Pt. de Europa

Gibraltar (Br)

C. Trafalgar

C. Finisterre

C. Torifiana

C. Roca

C. Espichel

C. Mondego

C. Carvoeiro

C. Peñas

C. Machichaco

C. de Creus

C. de Gata

C. de Palos

C. de la Nao

C. de Tortosa

C. Tiñoso

Cape Bon

Algiers

Oran

Melilla

Mostaganem

Tenes

Gibraltar

Cadiz

Seville

Cordoba

Granada

Malaga

Jaen

Huelva

Badajoz

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Leon

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Nice

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Avignon

Nimes

Arles

Aix

Valence

Clermont

Limoges

Bordeaux

Biarritz

Lisbon

Oporto

Madrid

Barcelona

Valencia

Seville

Malaga

Gibraltar

Algiers

Oran

Marseilles

Toulouse

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INDEX

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A.M.D.G., 173
Aaron, 278
Abbaside dynasty, 37
Abd ar-Rahman I, 36, 37, 38, 213
Abd ar-Rahman III, 38, 89
Abd-el-Krim, 255, 270
Abencerrajes, 142
Abindarráez y Jarifa, 142
Abolengo, El, 177
Abrabanel, Judas, 129
Academia de Letras humanas, 162
Academic Revival (in Spanish architecture), 227, 230
Academy, Royal Spanish, 155, 175, 181
Academy of Fine Arts, Spanish, 155
Academy of Good Taste, 157, 162
Academy of History, Spanish, 155
Acero de Madrid, El, 150
Adam, 103
adelantados, 54
Æneas, 103
'Æsop' (of Velázquez), 203
Affonso Enríquez (nephew of Queen Urraca), 46
afforestation in Spain, 266, 272
Afonso III of Portugal, 98
Agostinho da Cruz, 126
agriculture in Spain, 266, 268
Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio, 133
Aguiló, Marian, 182
Aigues-Mortes, 48
Airas Nunes, 96, 97
Aires Barbosa, 124
ajimez, 216, 217
Ajuda Palace, 98
Alans, 32, 33
Alarcón, Pedro Antonio de, 170
Alarcón, Juan Ruiz de *v.* Ruiz de Alarcón
Alarcos, 44, 46
Alaric II, 35
Alas, Leopoldo, 171
Álava, 50
Alba, Duke of, 64; Duchess of, 207
Alba, Santiago, 260, 271, 277
Albéniz, Isaac, **234**, 236, 237, 238, 240, 243, **244–7**
Alberoni, Cardinal, 70
Alberti, Rafael, 180
Albigensian heresy, 48
Albuquerque, Afonso and Bras de, 134
alcabala, 56, 68, 73
Alcacerquebir, 127, 132, 133
Alcalá de Henares, 143, 227, 229
Alcalá Galiano, Antonio, vii, 166
alcalde, 54
Alcalde de Zalamea, El, 22, **153**
Alcántara, 210
Alcántara, Order of, 47
Alcázar de las Perlas, El, 178
Alcobaça, 139
Alcover, Joan, 182
Alessi, 229
Alexander VI, Pope, 59
Alexander, Book of, 99, 100
Alfonsine Empire and its literature, **89–107**, 114
Alfonsists, 83
Alfonso I ('the Catholic'), 7, 40
Alfonso II ('the Chaste'), 40, 215
Alfonso V of Castile-León, 41
Alfonso VI of Castile-León, 44, 45, 90
Alfonso VII of Castile-León, 16, 46, 90, 92, 95
Alfonso VIII of Castile, 46, 47, 90, 95
Alfonso IX of León, **46**, 90, 98
Alfonso X of Castile-León ('the Wise'), 5, 6, 13, 15, 26, 48, **49–50**, 54, 90, 91, 92, 97, 98, 100, **102–4**, 106, 107, 114, 123, 136
Alfonso XI of Castile, **50**, 54, 102, 103, 104, 105
Alfonso XII of Spain, 84, 85
Alfonso XIII of Spain, **85–6**, 251 ff.
Alfonso II of Aragon, 47
Alfonso III of Aragon, 52
Alfonso IV of Aragon, 187

Alfonso V of Aragon (' the Magnanimous '), **52**, 113, 188
Alfonso Onceno, Poema de, 106
Algarve, 49
Algeciras, 32; Conference of —, 254
Algiers, 59, 61, 73
Alhambra, 215, 219, **220–1**, 229, 238
Alhucemas, Marqués de, 259, 260, 261, 264, 276
Alicante, 3, 188
aljamiada, literatura, 101
Aljubarrota, 51, 115, 139
Allendesalazar, 260
Alma Triunfante, 176
Almadén, 5
Almanzor (Al-Mansur), 26, 89, 94, 213
Almenara, 45
Almería, 39
Almería, Song of, 90
Almirall, Valentín, 262
Almohades, 44, 47, 53, 89
Almoravides, 44, 45, 89
Alomar, Gabriel, 182
Alonso, Dámaso, 180
Alpujarras, 137
Álvares Pereira, Nuno, 115
Álvarez, Francisco, 135
Álvarez, João, 117
Álvarez, Melquiades, 258, 268
Álvarez de Cienfuegos, Nicasio, 161
Álvaro de Córdoba, 16, 89
Amadeo, King of Spain, 83, 84
Amadís de Gaula, 18, 105, 116, 117, 140, 146
Amador de los Ríos, José, 169
Amantes de Teruel, Los, 166
America, Discovery of, 11, 57, **59–60**, 134, 135. War between Spain and United States of, *v.* United States
Amescua, *v.* Mira de Mescua
Amiens, 221, 222
' Aminta,' 160
Amonestaments, Libre dels bons, 109
Amor de los amores, Los, 174
Ampurias, 30
Amyot, 141
Andalusia, 2, 6, 10, 11, 20, 23, 29, 47, 67, 77, 88, 89, 94, 127, 170, 177, 180, 193, 204, 220, 226, 235, 240, 243, 247, 266, 267, 274. Dialect of, 10
Andanzas (of Pedro Tafur), 116
Andrenio, 134
' Andrew, Martyrdom of St.' (of Roelas), 198
Andronio, 160
Ángel Guerra, 171
Anjou, 51, 52, 69, 222
Annual, 255
Anseis de Karthage, 94
Antequera, 51
Antonio, Julio, 268
Antonio, Nicolás, 156
Antwerp, 119
Anzuelo de Fenisa, El, 150
Aosta, 83
Apollonius of Tyre, Book of, 99, **100–1**
Apostolic party, *v.* Carlists
Après-midi d'un Faune, 237
Aquitaine, 95
Arabic, *v.* below, and also ' Moors '
Arabic influences on Spanish language and literature, 17, 89, 92, 101, 165
Arabic language, 11, 88, 89, 91
Arabs, 10, 21, 23, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 92
Aragon, 7, 8, 11, 40, 41, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 59, 66, 67, 68, 80, 84, 101, 107, 113, 122, 127, 192, 223, 251. Annals of —, 136. Dialect of —, 15, 16
Aranda, Count of, 74
Aranjuez, 75, 76, 77, 230
Araucana, 138
Arawaks, 134
Arbos, Fernández, 268
Arcadia, 141
Argensola, Bartolomé and Lupercio Leonardo de, 127, 155
Argentina, 62
Argote de Molina, Gonzalo, 136
Arianism, 33
Arias Montano, Benito, 124
Aribau, Bonaventura Carlos, 9, **182**
Ariosto, 138
Aristotle, 124, 148, 149, 157
Arjona, 163
Arlanza, 101
Armada, ' Invincible,' 65
Armenia, 212
Arnaldos, Count, 121
Arniches, Carlos, 177
Arolas, Juan, 168
Arruit, Mount, 255
' Art ' (of Ramon Lull), 107
arte mayor, verso de, 114
Arthurian Romance in Spain, 104, 110, 116, 117, 120, 121, 129, 142
Ascent of Mount Carmel, 131
Ase, Disputa del, 109
Asia Minor, 216
' Assumption ' (of El Greco), 196
Astorga, 31, 76, 91, 100, 219
Asturias, 6, 7, 39, 40, 41, 119, 171, 211, 215, 216, 217, 239, 247, 267. Title of Prince of —, 51
Asunción Silva, José, 182
Atalaya de las Crónicas, 118
Ataulfo, 156
Athanasius, 33
Atlas Mountains, 44

Augsburg, Diet of, 62
Augustine, St., 196
Augustinians, 132, 160
Augustus Cæsar, 31
Aulegrafia, 148
Austria, 64, 69, 71, 78, 81, 85, 242
Austrian Succession, War of, 71
Auto de los Reyes Magos, 98
auto sacramental, 154, 157, 158
Ave Maria, Book of, 108
Ave, Maris Stella, 171
Avellaneda, Alonso Fernández de, 146, 158
Avellaneda, Gertrudis Gómez de, *v.* Gómez
Averroes, 90
Averroism, 107
Avicenna, 90
Avignon, 188, 192
Ávila, 131, 193, 209, 219, 231
Avis, John of, 51
Aviz dynasty, 118
Ayras, Gil, 115
Azores, 119
'Azorín,' 181
Azul, 181

Babylon, 133
Bach, 240
Baço, Jaime, 190
Bacon, Francis, 124
Badajoz, 31, 44, 77, 194
Baena, Juan de, 105, 113
Bætica, 88
Bagdad, 37
Bahamas, 60
Bailén, 76
Bajo el Signo de Artemisa, 174
Balaguer, Victor, 182
Balakirew, 236
Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 60, 134
Balbuena, Bernardo de, 138
Balearic Islands, 8, 48, 107, 224
Ballads, Spanish, *v.* Romancero
Baltasar Carlos, son of Philip IV, 68
Baltic, 211
Bamba, 216
Bande, S. Comba de, 211, 212
Bandello, 143
Báñez, 124
Barbara of Braganza, 71
Barbarians in Spain, 32–3
Barbarossa, 61
Barbosa, Aires, 124
Barcellos, *v.* Pedro
Barcelona, 7, 36, 40, 45, 46, 47, 60, 69, 70, 81, 85, 107, 164, 169, 182, 187, 188, 189, 217, 223, 224, 253, 261, 262, 263, 264, 270, 274
Baroja, Pío, **172–3**, 175
baroque architecture, 218, 227, **229–31**
Barraca, La, 172
Barranco del Lobo, 254
Barros, João de, 136, 137, 139
'Bartholomew, St.' (of Ribera), 197
Bartrina, 21
Basques and Basque civilization, 6, 21, 30, 37, 40, 80, 84, 180, 239, 243, 264, 267, 269
Bassa, Ferrer, 187
Batalha, 139
'Batilo,' 160
Baudelio de Berlanga, San, 216, 217
Bayonne, 76
Beatrice of Swabia, 226
Beaumont and Fletcher, 149
Becerra, Gaspar, 231
Bécquer, Gustavo Adolfo, 168
Bedr, 215
Beethoven, 240
Béla Bartók, 235, 239
Belarmino y Apolonio, 174
Benavente, Jacinto, **176**, 177
Benedictines, 156
Bengal, 242
Beni-Gómez, 95
Benlliure, Mariano, 268
Beña, Cristóbal de, 163
Berbers, 10, 37, 44, 88, 277
Berceo, Gonzalo de, 7, 99, **100**
Berenguer, General, 255
Berenguer, Ramón, *v.* Ramón
Bermejo, Bartolomé, 190, 191, 193
Bernáldez, Andrés, 116
Bernardes, Manuel, 133
Bernárdez, Diogo, 126
Bernardo, 138
Bernardo del Carpio, 40, 46, 94, 104, 120
Berners, Lord, 129
Berruguete, Alonso, 231
Berruguete, Pedro, 193
Bertrand du Guesclin, 50
Biblical influences on Spanish literature, 126, 132, 150
Bibliotheca hispana, 156
Bilbao, 6, 81, 84, 85, 255, 264, 267, 272
Birmingham, 190
Bivar, Rodrigo Díaz de, *v.* Cid
Bizet, 235
Bizkaitarrism, 264, 274
Black Prince, 50
Black Sea, 211
Blanco (White), José María, 162, 163
Blanquerna, 108
Blasco Ibáñez, Vicente, **172**, 173, 258, 270
Blenheim, 69
'Blind Man's Buff' (of Goya), 206
Blum, Roger, 108, 137

Bocage, 140
Boccaccio, 117, 143
bodegones (of Velázquez), 200
Böhl de Faber, Cecilia, *v.* Fernán Caballero
Böhl de Faber, Johann Nikolaus, 164
Boileau, 156
Boissonnade, 41
Bolivia, 62
Bonaval, Bernardo de, 97
Bonavia, 230
Bonilla y San Martín, Adolfo, 169
Bordeaux, 207
' Borrachos, Los ' (of Velázquez), 201
Borrassá, Luis, 188
Boscán, Juan, 110, **124–5,** 128, 129
Bourbon dynasty in Spain, 17, **69–86,** 123
Bourges, 221, 225
Bouts, Dirck, 193
Bowes Museum, 207
' Boy Drinking ' (of Murillo), 204
Bradomín, Marqués de, 173
Braganza, Duke of, 67
Braganza dynasty in Portugal, 128
Brahms, 240
Bramante, 212
Brangwyn, Frank, 208
Bravo Murillo, Juan, 82
Brazil, 135
Breda, Capture of, 67
Bretón, Tomás, 177, 237
Bretón de los Herreros, Manuel, 167
' Bridget, Vision of St.' (of Velázquez), 202
Britain, Ancient, 32 ; Great — *v.* England ; Great — and Spain, modern relations between, 251, 257, 258
Brotherhoods, *v.* Hermandades
Brouwer, 205
Browning, 240
Bruges, 189
Brunetto Latini, 104
Brussels, 224, 229
Buelna, 116
Buen Amor, Libro de, 18, **111**
Buenos Aires, 25, 72, 73, 135
Bugia, 59
Buitrago, 193
' Bull Ring ' (of Fortuny), 208
Bulletin of Spanish Studies, vii
Bunyan, 130
Burgos, 11, 41, 45, 55, 76, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 230
Burlador de Sevilla, El, 151
Buscón, Vida del, 133, 143
Byron, 166, 167
Byzantine architecture, 212, 213, 216 ; — Empire, 38 ; — novel, 141 ; — painting, 187, 195, 196
Cabanyes, Manuel de, **164,** 182
Cabeza del Griego, 211
Cabrera, Ramón, 81
Cáceres, 210
cacique, 266
Cadalso, José, 161
Cádiz, 29, 30, 32, 65, 66, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 180, 210, 253
Cæsar, 12, 31, 89, 103, 134
Cairo, 213
Calahorra, 32
Calatayud, 32
Calatrava, José María, 80
Calatrava, Order of, 46, 47
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, 22, 26, 27, 122 n., 123, 124, 147, 152, **153–4,** 155, 157, 158, 164, 169, 176
California, 141
Calisto y Melibea, v. Celestina
Calomarde, Francisco, 79
Calvo Sotelo, 271
camarilla, 78
Camba, Francisco, 175
Cambó, Francisco de Asís, 263, 264
Cambrai, 61
Cambridge, 193
Camões, Luis Vaz de, 122, 124, **125–6,** 128, 131, **138–40,** 148
Campin, 190
Campoamor, Ramón de, **168,** 178
Campomanes, Count of, 74
Campos de Castilla, 179
Canalejas, Francisco de P., 252, 255, 256, 257, 264, 274
Canary Islands, 51, 57
Canción de Cuna, 177
Cancioneiros, 98
Cancionero Castellano (of Enrique de Mesa), 179
Cancionero (of Juan del Encina), 146
Candado, Ley del, 256
Cangas de Onís, 39
Cano, Melchor, 124
Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio, 84, 85, 86, 251
Cant de Ramón, 107
Cantabria, 15, 16
Cantabrian Mountains, 2
Cantar de Rodrigo, 95
cantares de gesta, 93, 94, 95, 119, 120
cantigas de amigo, 98
cantigas de amor, 98
Cantigas de Santa María, 97
Cañas y Barro, 172
capa y espada, 149, 150
' Caprichos, Los ' (of Goya), 207
Caravaggio, 197
Carbonell, Miquel, 108
Carbonero, 208
Cárcel del Amor, 117

Cardenal de Belén, El, 150
Cárdenas y Angulo, Pedro de, 151
Carlist Wars, 80, 81, 84, 274
Carlists, 79, 80, 81, 84, 253, 259
Carlos, *v.* Charles
Carlos II el Hechizado, 166
Carmelites, 130, 131
Carmen, 235
Carolingian poetry, 93, 120, 145, 146
Carpio, *v.* Bernardo
Carrión, 95
Cartagena, 253
Cartas eruditas y curiosas, 156
Cartas marruecas, 161
Carthage, 21
Carthaginians in Spain, 30, 31
Casa con dos puertas, 154
Casa de la Troya, 175
Casa-Arquedín, Marqués de, 193
Casas, Bartolomé de las, 134
Casas y Novoa, 230
Casta de Hidalgos, 174
Castelar, Emilio, 84, 251
Castellanos, Juan de, 138
Castiglione, 128
Castile, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 60, 67, 89, 90, 94, 96, 97, 99, 105, 107, 112, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 138, 144, 178, 179, 181, 192, 216, 226, 266, 273
Castilian, *v.* Spanish
Castillejo, Cristóbal de, 126
Castillo, Enríquez del, 116
Castillo, Hernando del, 113
Castillo Solórzano, 144
Castro, Américo, 16, 17, 144
Castro, Guillén de, 151
Catalan architecture, modern, 230
Catalan language, 8, 9, 16, 96, 103, 109, 121, 167, 182
Catalan literature, 9, 96, 99, **107–10**, 124, 181–3
Catalan music, 239, 247
Catalan painting, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193
Catalan renaissance, 167, 182
Catalanist movement since 1898, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 270, 274, 275, 276
'Catalina Micaela, Infanta' (of Coello), 194
Catalonia, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 40, 41, 42, 47, 48, 52, 53, 55, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 84, 108, 117, 118, 119, 137, 167, 169, 216, 223, 224, 226, 227, 231, 236, 272
Cateau Cambresis, Peace of, 63
Catedral, La, 172
Catholic Monarchs, 59 n. (*v.* also Ferdinand V, Isabel I)
Cea Bermúdez, *v.* Zea
Celanova, S. Miguel de, 216
Celestina, 18, 142, 148
Celtiberian race, 30
Celtic words in Spanish, 13
Celts, 5, 30
Centauros, Los, 174
Centre Català, 262
Centre Nacionalista Català, 263
Centre Nacionalista Republicà, 263
Cepeda, *v.* Teresa
Cerdagne, 68
Cervantes, Archbishop Juan de, 226
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 6, 12, 19, 24, 27, 105, 122 n., 124, 133, 140, 141, 143, **144–6**, 156, 181
Ceuta, 73, 116, 267
Chanson de la Croisade, 104
Chanson de Roland, 24, 38, 42, 90
character, Spanish, *v.* Spanish
Chabrier, 236, 250
Charlemagne, 8, 37, 91, 93, 223
Charles I of Spain (Emperor Charles V: *v.* 60 n.), 19, 25, **60–3**, 66, 123, 137, 194, 219, 220, 227, 229
Charles II of Spain, **68–9**
Charles III of Spain, **72–4**
Charles IV of Spain, **74–6**, 78, 80, 162
Charles of Anjou, 51, 52; — son of Philip II of Spain, 65; — Viana, Prince of Navarre, 52; — Archduke of Austria, 69, 73; — son of Isabel Farnese, 71; — brother of Ferdinand VII, 79, 81
Charles Martel, 36
Chartres, 221, 225
Chateaubriand, 23, 165
Chaucer, 114, 147
Cherinton, Odo de, 117
Chile, 62
Chindaswinth, 35
chivalric romance, 141, 145, 146
Chopin, 248
'Christ in the House of Martha and Mary' (of Velázquez), 200, 203
Christian Democrat Party, 259
Chronicle of James I of Aragon, 108
Chronicon Mundi, 101
Church and State in Spain, 73, 74, 82, 123, 254, 255, 256, 278
Churriguera, José, 230
Cicero, 13, 31, 118, 132
Cid Campeador, 42, **45–6**, 89, 91, 94, 104, 120, 151, 251
Cid, Poema de Mío (or *Poema del Cid*), 14, 17, 18, 24, 42, 93, **95**, 163
Ciencia Española, La, 169
Cienfuegos, *v.* Álvarez

Cieza de León, 135
Cifar, El Caballero, 105
Cinna, de la, 250
Cintio, 143
Cisneros, Jiménez (*or* Ximénez) de, 57, 59
Cistercians, 47, 221, 223, 225
Ciudad Rodrigo, 77
'Clarín,' 171
Clásicos y Modernos, 181
Clavijo, González de, 51, 116
Clavijo, José, 158
Clerical question, *v.* Church and State
Cluny, 14, 41, 90, 219, 221, 223
Codax, Martin, 97, 98
Codex Calixtinus, 91
Coimbra, 118, 124, 139
Colocci-Brancutti, 98
Coloma, Luis, 171
colonos, 43
Coloquio de los Perros, 145
Columbia University, vii
Columbus, **60**, 134
Columella, 32
Comba de Bande, S., 211
Comedia Nueva, La, 159
Comendador Mendoza, El, 170
Common Prayer, Book of, 124
Conceptism, 127, 133, 137
Concordat of 1851, 82, 255, 256
Condenado por desconfiado, El, 151
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, 259
Confessio Amantis, 117
Conjuración de Venecia, La, 166
Conques, 218
conquistadores, 19, 25, 42
Conradin of Sicily, 51
consejo, 43
consejo real, 54
Consolation for the tribulations of Israel, 133
Constance of Sicily, consort of Peter III of Aragon, 51
Constantine, 34
Constantinople, 36, 51
Constanza, daughter of Peter the Cruel, 50
Constitution of 1812, 77, 78, 80; — of 1837, 80, 82; — of 1845, 82, 83, 84; — of 1876, 84, 277
Consulate of the Sea, 8, 108
Contos e Historias de Proveito, 143
Convenio of 1904, 255, 256
Conversión de la Magdalena, La, 132
Corbacho, 118
Córdoba, 23, 30, 31, 33, 37, 38, 39, 46, 88, 92, 103, 193, 210, 213, 214, 216, 261; —, Caliphate of, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44
Corneille, 152, 156
Corona trágica, 138
Corral, Pedro del, 117
Corrêa, Gaspar, 135
Correggio, 193
corregidor, 54
Corsica, 52
Corte de los milagros, La, 173
Corte Real, 138
Corteggiano, Il, 128, 129
Cortes, 7, 52, **54–6**, 62, 63, 66, 71, 74, 76, 78, 103
Cortés, Hernán, 25, 62, 134, 141
Coruña, La, 65, 76
cossante, **96–7**, 98, 101
Costa, Joaquín, 251
Costa i Llobera, Miquel, 182
Costas y Montañas, 171
Cotarelo y Morí, Emilio, 169
Council of Flanders, 62; — of the Indies, 62; — of Italy, 62; — of the State, 62
Counsels for his son, Book of, 104
Counter-Reformation, 130
Couto, Diogo do, 135, 139
Covadonga, 6, 39
Cremona, Gerard of, 91
Crestià, Lo, 109
Crete, 195
Cristinists, 80, 81; *v.* also María Cristina, consort of Ferdinand VII
Cristo de la Luz, S. (Toledo), 211
Criticón, El, 133
Critilo, 134
Cromagnon type, 29
Crónica General: Primera, 6, 93, 94, 95; *Segunda*, 93, 104; *Tercera*, 93, 104
Crónica Rimada, 95
Crónica Sarracina, 94, 117
Crusades, 56, 104
Cruz, Diego de la, 226
Cruz, Ramon de la, **158–9**, 177
Cruzada, Bula de la, 56
cuaderna vía, 99, 100, 101
Cuatro Jinetes del Apocalipsis, Los, 172
Cuba, 60, 83, 86
Cuban War, 84, 85, 252
Cubillo de Aragón, Álvaro, 154
Cubism, 268
Cuenca, 211
Cuentos, Libro de los, 117
Cueva, Juan de la, 148
Cullera, 257
Culteranism, 127
cultismos, 18
Curial i Guelfa, 108
Curioso impertinente, El, 146
Currito de la Cruz, 175

Cursi, Lo, 176
Czecho-Slovakian music, 241

Dalmau, Luis, 189
' Dalmiro,' 161
Dama Duende, La, 154
Damas, Paz de las, 61
Damascus, 36, 212, 213
Dancart, 226
Dante, 109, 114
Danube, 32, 211
Danvila, Alfonso, 175
Darien, 25
Darío, Rubén, 27, 178, **181–2**
Darius, King, 100
Dark Night of the Soul, 131
Dato, Eduardo, 257, 259, 260, 263, 264, 274, 277
debates, poetical, 101
Debussy, 237, 249
Décadas da Asia, 136, 139
Decades (of Livy), 114
Decamerone, Il, 109
Deceits and Tricks of Women, Book of the, 104
Defensa, Junta de, 259, 260
' Delio,' 160
Deodat de Sévérac, 247
Desclot, 108
Descoll, 108
Desconort, 107
Desdén con el Desdén, El, 154
desengaño, 165, 166, 168
Devoción de la Cruz, La, 153
Diable Boiteux, Le, 144
Diablo cojuelo, El, **144**, 150
Diablo mundo, El, 166
Diálogo de la(s) lengua(s), 18, 129
Dialogues concerning love, 129
Diamante, Juan Bautista, 155
Diana, 141, 142
Diario de los literatos de España, 157
Díaz de Bivar, Rodrigo, *v.* Cid
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, 135
Dicente, Joaquín, 175
Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, 156
Dieulafoy, 219, 227
Díez-Canedo, Enrique, 179
Díez de Games, Gutierre, 115
Diniz of Portugal, King, 97, 98
Diogo Bernárdez, *v.* Bernárdez
Diogo do Couto, *v.* Couto
Directory, French, 75
Directory in Spain, Military, 251, 262, 264, 265, 266, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279
Discipline of the Clergy, 91
Diu, 138
Divina Commedia, 109
doceañistas, 78
Doloras, 168
Dolores, La, 237
Domingo, Marcelino, 265
Domingo de Silos, Santo, 100
Dominicans, 48, 56 n.
Don Alvaro, 166, 175, 178
' Don Carlos ' (of Sánchez Coello), 194
Don Juan, 95, 151
Don Juan (of ' Azorín '), 181
' Don Juan ' (of Velázquez), 202
Don Juan Tenorio (of Zorrilla), 167
Don Quijote, 24, 28, 144, **145–6**, 151, 180
Donatello, 230
Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente, El, 166, *v.* also Henry III of Castile
Doña Inés (of ' Azorín '), 181
Doña Luz, 170
Doña Perfecta, 171
Dos de Mayo, Insurrection of, 71
' Dos de Mayo ' (of Goya), 207
Douro, 2, 40, 265
Dragontea, La, 138
Drake, 65, 138
Drama in Spain and Portugal, beginnings of, 98–9
Drama Nuevo, Un, 175
Drama Universal, El, 178
Dreams, v. Sueños
Duarte, King of Portugal, 114, 118
Dublin, Trinity College, vii
Ducis, 158
Duero, *v.* Douro
Dulce y Sabrosa, 172
Dulwich, 204
Dumas, 167
Durán, Augustín, 119, 164
Dutch painting, 193, 205
Dyck, van, 204

Eanes de Zurara, Gómez, 116, 117, 135
Ebro, 2, 89, 211
Echegaray, 175, 270
Edinburgh, 188
Edward I of England, 49
Edward III of England, 50
Egas family, 224, 226, 227, 228
Egyptians, 37
Eibar, 272
Eximenis, Francesc, 109
Elche, 211, 212
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 95
Eleanor of Castile (sister of Alfonso X), 49
Electra, 175
Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias, 138
Elena y María, 101
Elgar, 234
Elizabeth, St., 204

Elizabeth, Queen of England, 65
Elizabeth of France (consort of Philip II of Spain), 63, 65
Elizabeth of Parma, 70, 71
Els Segadors, 263
En la playa, 171
Encina, Juan del, 121, 146, 147
encomendados, 43
encomienda, 43
Encyclopædism, 156
Engaños, etc., *v. Deceits*
England, 49, 62, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 78, 112, 162, 166, 234, 240, 251, 265
English influence on the Spanish language, 18, 276; — on Spanish literature, 117, 162, 164, 165, 167, 169, 170
Enrique, *v.* Henry
Entre Bobos anda el Juego, 153
Entre Naranjos, 172
entremés, 145, 158, 177
Enxenplos, Libro de, 117
epic, origins of Spanish, 92 ff., 118 ff.
Episodios nacionales, 171, 173
Erasmus, 124, 145
Ercilla y Zúñiga, Alonso de, 138
Eruditos a la violeta, 161
Escalada, S. Miguel de, 216, 217
Escalante, Amós de, 171
Escenas montañesas, 170
Escorial, El, 66, 97, 124, 195, 202, 229
Escosura, Patricio de la, 165, 167
Esfinge Maragata, La, 174
Espartero, Baldomero, 81, 82, 83
Espejo de los legos, 117
Espina, Concha, 174
Espinel, Vicente, 143
Espoz y Mina, Javier, 81
Espronceda, José de, 165, 166, 167, 168
Espuma, La, 171
Essex, Earl of, 66
Estatuto Real, 80
Estébanez Calderón, Serafín, 168
Estella, 81
Estella, Marqués de, *v.* Primo de Rivera
Estevão da Guarda, 98
Estoria de Espanna, *v.* Crónica General, Primera
Estoria grande et general, 103
Estrella de Sevilla, La, 151
Estudiante de Salamanca, El, 166
Eufrosina, 142, 148
Eulogius, 88, 89
Euphuism, 129
Europeo, El, 164
Eustace, St., 105
Exaltados, 78, 80, 81
Exercicios Espirituaes, 133
Exterminating Angel, Society of the, 79
Extremadura, 6, 63, 67, 194, 266
Eyck, Jan van, 188, 193

Fabre, Jaime, 224
Fábulas literarias (of Iriarte), 160
Fadrique, King of Sicily, 52
Falcão Christovam, 126
Falkland Islands, 72
Falla, Manuel de, 2, 34, 237, **238**, 239, 243, **248–9**, 268
Familia de Albareda, La, 170
'Family Compact,' 72
Faria e Sousa, Manuel de, 128
Farnese, Alexander, 64
Farnese, Isabel, 70, 71
Fascism, 277
Faustino, Las Ilusiones del doctor, 170
Fe, La, 171
Febrer, Andreu, 109
Felix de les Meravelles, 108
Ferdinand I of Castile-León-Asturias ('the Great'), 14, **45**, 217
Ferdinand III of Castile-León (Fernando el Santo *or* St. Ferdinand), **46**, 92, 98, 102, 103, 106, 127, 226
Ferdinand IV of Castile-León, **50**, 102
Ferdinand V of Spain ('The Catholic'), 47, 51, **56–7**, **59–60**, 64, 116, 192
Ferdinand VI of Spain, **71–2**, 74
Ferdinand VII of Spain, 75, **76–80**, 162, 164, 165
Ferdinand I of Aragon and Sicily, 52
Ferdinand of Antequera (regent for John II of Castile), 51
Ferdinand the Handsome of Portugal, 115
Ferdinand, Prince of Portugal, 117
Ferdinand, brother of Charles V and Holy Roman Emperor, 63
Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, 83
Fernán Caballero, **170–1**
Fernán González, Count, 41, 46, 89, 94, 104, 120
Fernán González, Poem of, 94, 101
Fernández de Moratín, Leandro, **159**, 167
Fernández de Moratín, Nicolás, 158
Fernández Flórez, Wenceslao, 175
Fernández Navarrete, Juan, 194, 195
Fernando, *v.* Ferdinand
Fernão López, 115, 116, 117
Ferrara, 133
Ferreira, Antonio, 125, 148
Ferreira de Vasconcelos, Jorge, 139, 142, 148
Ferrer, Francisco, 253
Ferrol, El, 253

Feyjóo, Benito Jerónimo, 156–7
fiction, beginnings of Spanish, 102, 169
Fiesta de toros en Madrid, 158
Fígaro, *v.* Larra
Figuras de la Pasión del Señor, 174
figurón, comedia de, 152
finances of modern Spain, *v.* Spain
Finland, music of, 234, 241
Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James, viii, 159
Flecha, La, 132
Flemish painting, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 204
Fleta, Miguel, 268
Floire et Blanchefleur, 104, 117
Flor de Gnido, Canción a la, 125
Flor de Mayo, 172
Flor de Santidad, 173
Flora, 88, 89
Florence, 188, 195, 222, 228
Florentine painting, 188, 189, 192
Flores y Blancaflor, *v. Floire*
Florida del Inca, 135
Floridablanca, Count of, 74
'Flower Girl, Spanish' (of Murillo), 204
Fontana, Carlo, 230
football in Spain, 276
Ford, J. D. M., vii
Forment, Damián, 230
Forner, Juan Pablo, 160–1
Fortuny, Mariano, 207
Forum Judicum, 91
fourfold way, *v.* Cuaderna vía
Fournier, Admiral, 263
Fox Morcillo, Sebastián, 124
Fragonard, 206
France, imitation or influence of, 5, 9, 17, 41, 42, 72, 90, 106, 155, 156, 158, 159, 161, 163, 164, 166, 171, 181; *v.* also French
France and Spain, modern relations between, 254, 257, 258, 262, 263; *v.* also French
Francés, Nicolás, 192
Francis I of France, 60, 61
Francis Xavier, St., 136
'Franciscan Friar praying' (of Zurbarán), 199
Francisco de Asís, Consort of Isabel II of Spain, 82
Franks, 8, 33, 40
Fray Gerundio, Historia de . . ., 160
French influence on Spanish architecture and sculpture, 226; — on Spanish music, 234, 236, 237, 238
'French way,' 90
Froissart, 108
Fuente de Todos, 206
fuero, 43, 53
Fuero Juzgo, 11, 35, 103
Gabriel, 199
Gabriel y Galán, José María, 178
Galatea, 141, 144, 146
Galicia, 5, 6, 8, 11, 15, 41, 95, 96, 175, 178, 211, 216, 217, 264, 266, 267. Dialect of —, 16, 93
Galician-Portuguese literature, 5, 6, **95–8**, 111, 113, 142
Gallego, Juan Nicasio, 161
Gallegos, 193
gallophobia, 162
Gama, Vasco da, 134, 139
Ganivet, Angel, 21, 24, 27, **180**
García Álvarez, Enrique, 177
García de la Huerta, Vicente Antonio, 158
García de Santa María, Alvar, 114, 116
García de Villalta, José, 167
García Gutiérrez, Antonio, 166
García Morales, Pedro, 238
Garci-Laso (*or* Garcilaso) de la Vega, 113, 123, **125**, 179
Garci-Laso de la Vega El Inca, 135
Garreta, Juli, 239
Gascony, 49, 112
Gaul, 31
Gautier de Coincy, 100
Gaviota, La, 170
Gayangos, Pascual de, 169
General Chronicle, 93, 101, 105, 106, 117, 118, 136; *v.* also Crónica General
Generalife (Granada), 220, 221
Generation of 1898, 168, 169, 268
género chico, 177
Genoa, 226, 229, 272
George, St., 189
German influence on the Spanish language, 18
German music, 240, 241, 242
Germany and Spain, modern relations between, 254, 257, 258
Gerona, 49, 76, 223, 224, 264
Gibraltar, 4, 69, 71, 72, 257
Gil Blas de Santillana (Lesage), 144, 160
Gil y Carrasco, Enrique, 167
Gil y Zárate, Antonio, 166, 167
Gilmour (of Liverpool), Captain, viii
Giner de los Ríos, Francisco, 179
Giotto, 187
Giralda (of Seville Cathedral), 219, 225
Giráldez, Afonso, 106
Glinka, 236
Gloria, 171
Goa, 135, 139
Gobernadora, La, 176
Godowsky, 247 n.
Godoy, Manuel, 74, 75
Godoy, Ramón de, 178

Goes, van der, 193
Gões, Damião de, 117
Goethe, 258
Golden Age, 1, 19, 113, **122–54,** 155, 157, 158, 163, 168, 198. Interpretation of the term, 122 n.
Goldoni, 159
Golondrinas, Las, 239
Gómara, 135
Gómez Charinho, 97
Gómez de Avellaneda, Gertrudis, 168
Gómez Hermosilla, José Mamerto, 163
Góngora, Luis de, 120, 124, **127–8,** 155, 157
gongorism, 114, 127, 128, 138, 154, 160, 180
Gonsalvo de Córdoba, 59
González, Diego Tadeo, 160
González Anaya, Salvador, 173
González Besada, 260
González Bravo, Luis, 83
González del Castillo, Juan Ignacio, 159
Gonzalo Gustos, 94
Gothic architecture and sculpture, 188, 190, **221–6,** 228
Gothic rule in Spain, *v.* Visigothic
Gouvêa, André de, 124
Gower, 100, 117
Goy de Silva, Ramón, 178
Goya y Lucientes, Francisco, **206–7,** 208, 209
Goyescas (of Granados), 238, 243, 248
Grace Abounding, 130
Gracián, Baltasar, 133
Grail, Holy, 104
'Gran Capitán,' 59
Gran Galeoto, El, 175
Granada, 23, 25, 29, 44, 45, 46, 49, 52, 63, 64, 83, 117, 178, 219, 220, 221, 227, 228, 230, 231, 242. Conquest of —, 11, **56–7,** 59, 122, 140, 192, 219
Granada (of Zorrilla), 167
Granada, Conquest of (of Irving), 142
Granada, Guerra de (of Hurtado de Mendoza), 137
Granada, Luis de, 131, 132
Granada, New, 135
Granados, 236, 238, 243, 247, **248**
Grand Alliance, 69
'Greasy Pole, The' (of Goya), 206
'Great Captain,' 59
Greco, El, 122 n., 187, **195–6,** 197, 198, 199
Greek culture and influence in Spain, 30, 38, 90, 100, 124
Greeks in Spain, 5, 30
Gregory X, Pope, 48
Grieg, 248
Grisóstomo, 146
Gritos del Combate, 168
Grotius, 124
Guadalquivir, 2, 4, 10, 30
Guadarrama Mountains, 2, 3, 29, 179
Guastalla, 71
Guerrero, María, 268
Guevara, Antonio de, 129
Guía de Pecadores, 132
Guimerà, Angel, 182
Guinea, 135
Guinea, Conquest and Discovery of, 116
Guipúzcoa, 67, 239
Gurugú, Mount, 254
Gutiérrez Nájera, Manuel, 182
guzla, 246
Guzmán, *v.* Pérez
Guzmán de Alfarache, 143

Hadrian, 31
Haiti, 60
Hamburg, 272
Hamilcar Barca, 30, 31
Hamlet, 158
Handel, 240
Hannibal, 31
Hans of Cologne, 223, 224
Hapsburg rule in Spain, **60–9,** 71, 73, 137
Hardy, Thomas, 173
Hartzenbusch, Juan Eugenio, 166, 167
Harvard University, vii
Hasdrubal, 31
Haydn, 240
Hebreo, León, 129, 130
Hebrew music, 242
Heliodorus, 141
Hellenism, *v.* Greek culture
Henry the Navigator, Prince, son of John I of Portugal, 116
Henry II of Castile, **50,** 114
Henry III of Castile ('el Doliente'), **51,** 114, 115
Henry IV of Castile, 51
Henry II of France, 63
Henry IV of France, 66, 67
Henry VIII of England, 60, 61, 123
Herberay, 113
Hercules, 103
Hercules, Pillars of, 25
Heredia, Fernández de, 114
Herman, Bishop of Astorga, 91
Hermana San Sulpicio, La, 171
Hermandades, 50, 54
Hermosilla, José Mamerto Gómez, 163
Hernani, 166
Herodotus, 30
Héroe, El, 133
Herrera, Fernando de, 124, **126–7,** 163
Herrera, Francisco de ('el Viejo' or 'the elder'), 198, 200, 201

Herrera, Juan de, 229
Hervas, Gerardo de, 157
Heterodoxos españoles, Historia de los, 169
'Hilanderas, Las,' 203
Hindu music, 242, 245
Hispanic Society of America, vii
Hispaniola, 134
Hispano-Latin literature, 89, 90, 91, 92, 101, 102
Historia Trágico-marítima, 135
Hita, Archpriest of, *v.* Ruiz
Hoffmann, 119
Hohenstaufen, 51
'Holy Family' (of Murillo), 204
Holy Land, *v.* Palestine
Holy Roman Empire, 49, 60, 63, 69, 103
Homer, 114
Hontañón, Juan Gil de, 225
Hora de España, Una, 181
Horace, 126, 156
Horacio en España, 169
Horda, La, 172
Hormesinda, 158
horseshoe arch, 212, 214, 217
Hosius of Córdoba, 33
Hoveden, 117
Huelgas, Las, 221
Huesca, 7, 230
Hugo, Victor, 94, 165, 167
Huguet, Jaime, 190, 191
Humboldt, 134
Humoradas, 168
Humos de Rey, 174
Hungarian music, 235, 239
Hungary, 234
Huns, 33
Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego, 137

Iberia, unity of, 265
Iberia, 237, 238, 247
Iberian language, 16
Iberian peoples, 13, 29, 30
Ibsen, 175
iconostasis, 216, 217
Idearium Español, 21, **180**
Ideas estéticas en España, Historia de las, 169
Idogro, 230
Iglesias, Pablo, 259
Iglesias de la Casa, José, 161
Ignatius Loyola, St., 130
Igueriben, 255
Ildefonso, St., 34
Ildefonso, Treaty of San, 75
Ile de France, 221, 223, 225
'Illecas, Gonzalo de' (of Zurbarán), 199
Image of the Christian Life, 132
'Immaculate Conception'(s) (of Murillo), 204
Independence, Declaration of American, 73
India, 91, 134, 135, 137, 139, 212
Indies, trade with the, 8, 62, 70
Inés Pereira, Farsa de, 147
Infanzón de Illescas, El, 150
Inglés, Jorge, 193
Inigo Jones, 228
Inquisition, Spanish, 48, **56**, 64, 71, 74, 79, 122
Insúa, Alberto, 173
Intruso, El, 172
Inurria, 268
Iranzo, Lucas de, 116
Ireland, 66
Iriarte, Tomás de, 160
irrigation in Spain, 266, 272
Irving, Washington, 142
Isabel I of Spain ('the Catholic'), 8, 12, 33, 51, 52, 55, **56–7**, **59–60**, 114, 116, 192, 230
Isabel II of Spain, **80–4**, 162
Isabel Farnese, *v.* Farnese
Isabel, half-sister of Philip III, 66
Isidore, St., 12, 34, 90
Isidore, Church of St. (León), 219
Isidro Labrador, San, 138
Isla, José Francisco de, 160
Islam, *v.* Moors
Italian architecture (and influence on Spanish architecture), 215, 223, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231; — influence on the Spanish (Castilian) language, 17, 18, 129; — influence on Castilian literature, 113, 122, 123, 124, 125, 138, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 153, 156; — influence on Catalan literature, 109; — influence on Portuguese literature, 126, 139; — influence on Spanish painting, 188, 192, 193, 194, 197, 201, 204, 206; — music, 236, 239, 240, 242; — painting, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195, 196

Jaca, 7
Jacme, *v.* James
Jacob, 133
Jacomard, 190
Jaén, 228, 230
Jaime, *v.* James
James the Apostle, St., 40, 217
James I of Aragon, **48–9**, 51, 108
James II of Aragon, **52**, 187
James II of Mallorca, 48
Japan, 136
Jáuregui, 128
Jerez de la Frontera, 274

Jerusalem, 213
Jesuits, 123, 124, 130, 133, 136, 171, 174, 229, 230
Jesuits, expulsion of, 74, 82, 160
Jews, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 112, 118, 119
Jews, expulsion of, 11, 122; — persecution of, 34, 35, 53, 56, 59; — toleration shown to, 35, 37
Jimena Díaz, wife of the Cid, 45
Jiménez de Cisneros, *v.* Cisneros
Jiménez, Juan Ramón, 180
Joan, daughter of Henry IV of Castile ('Juana la Beltraneja'), 51
Joan, daughter of Isabel I, 60
Job, Book of, 132
Jocs Florals, 182
Joffre, Marshal, 263
John I of Castile, **51**, 114
John II of Castile, **51**, 113, 116
John I of Aragon, 108, 114
John II of Aragon, 52
John I of Portugal, 116, 118
John III of Portugal, 125
John of Austria, brother of Philip II, 64
John of Gaunt, 50, 51
John of the Cross, St., *v.* Juan
jongleur, 90
Jordi de Sant Jordi, **110**, 113
José (of Palacio Valdés), 171
Joseph Bonaparte, 76, 77
Joseph, Poem of, 101
jota aragonesa, 236, 250
Jovellanos, *v.* Melchor
'Jovino,' 161
Juan de los Baños de Cerrato, San, 211, 212, 213
Juan de la Cruz, San, 126, 131, 179
Juan de los Ángeles, 130, **132**
Juan Manuel, 102, 103, 105, **106–7**, 108, 110
Juan José, 175
Juana, *v.* Joan
Juana la Beltraneja, 51
Juana la Loca, 60
juglar, 90, **92–3**, 95, 99, 100, 119, 120
Julian, Count, 36, 94
Juni, Juan, 231
Junta Central, 76, 162
Junta Central, Defensa de la, 161
Jurisdictions, Law of, 263
juros, 56
Juvara, 230
Juvenal, 112

Kairawān, 213
Kalila and Dimna, 104
Kay, Isherwood, 187
King's College (London), viii
Koran, 38, 213
Kūfah, 213

Labyrinth of Fortune, 114
Lacer, Julius, 210
La Cierva, Juan, 260, 268, 272, 277
La Granja, 230
Lalo, 237
Lamartine, 162, 167, 168
Lampérez y Romea, V., 217
Lancelot, 104
Landriano, 61
Lara, Seven Princes of, 93, 94, 104, 120
Larra, Mariano José de, **165–6**, 168
Larregla, 250
Latin and Spanish, *v.* Spanish language
Lauria, Roger de, 52
law, Visigothic, 35
Lawrence, St., 196
Lazarillo de Tormes, 22, **143**
Leal Conselheiro, 118
Leander of Seville, 34
Lebeña, Santa María de, 216
Lebrija, *v.* Nebrija
Lecturas españolas, 181
Leiria, 139
Lemuel, King, 132
León, 6, 11, 16, 31, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 55, 60, 89, 94, 96, 97, 103, 122, 160, 192, 216, 219, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 228, 239
León, Isla de, 77
León, Luis de, 124, **126**, 130, **132**, 156, 178
León, Ricardo, 174
Leonese dialect and literature, 15, 16, 94, 103, 106
Leopold of Hohenzollern, 83
Leovgild, 33
Lepanto, **64**, 127
Lérida, 219, 221, 264
Lerma, Duke of, 66, 67
Lerroux, Alejandro, 258, 263
Lesage, 144, 160
Liberal union, 83
Libro de Buen Amor, 99
Licenciado Vidriera, El, 145
Life's a Dream, *v. Vida*
Limoges, 218
Limousin, 96, 109
Linares Rivas, Manuel, 177
Lindo Don Diego, El, 154
Lineages, Book of, 106
Lino, San Miguel de, 216
lira, 126
Liria Palace (Madrid), 207
Lisbon, 65, 69, 118, 139, 147, 148, 265
'Liseno,' 160
Lista, Alberto, **162**, 167
Liszt, 236, 248, 250
Living Flame of Love, 131
Livy, 114, 115, 136, 137, 138
Llama de Amor Viva, *v. Living*

Lliga de Catalunya, 262
Lliga Regionalista, 263
Llull, *v.* Lull
Lobeira, João de, 105
Lobo, Gerardo, 156
Logroño, 81
Lombardy, 61
London, 270
London, University of, vii
Longfellow, vii, 114
Longus, 141
Lope de Vega, *v.* Vega
Lope Fernández, Archbishop, 226
López, Fernão, *v.* Fernão
López Alarcón, Enrique, 178
López de Ayala, Pedro, **112**, 113, 114, 137
López de Castanheda, Fernão, 135
López de Mendoza, Iñigo, *v.* Santillana
López de Úbeda, Francisco, 143
López Domínguez, 252
López Silva, José, 177
López Soler, Ramón, 167
Lorenzo, Juan, 100
Lorraine, Henry, Count of, 46
lottery of Spain, State, 271
Louis XIII of France, 68
Louis XIV of France, 68, 69
Louis XV of France, 71, 72
Louis XVI of France, 75
Louisiana, 135
Lover and the Beloved, Book of the, 108
Low Countries, *v.* Netherlands
Lowell, James Russell, vii
Loyola, 230
Lucan, 31
Lucanor, El Conde, 106
Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, 91
Lucena, João de, 136
Lucena, Juan de, 118
Luceño, Tomás, 177
'Luchas fratricidas de España, Las,' 175
Lucrecia, 158
Lugo, 219
Luis I of Spain, 71
Luises, Los dos, 181
Lull, Ramón, 9, **107–8**, 109
Luna, Álvaro de, **51**, 116, 118
Luna, Miguel de, 117
Luna de miel, luna de hiel, 174
Luque, General, 263
Lusiads, 138–40
Lutheran Church, 242
Luz e labor, 133
Luzán, Ignacio de, 129, **156–7**, 158
Lyons, Council of, 48

Macaulay, 115
Machado, Antonio, 179
Machado, Manuel, 178, 179
Machiavelli, 133
Machuca, Pedro, 229
Macías, 117
Madre Naturaleza, La, 171
Madrid, 9, 55, 61, 66, 69, 70, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 83, 100, 127, 148, 157, 158, 159, 161, 165, 170, 171, 175, 176, 200, 204, 206, 230, 239, 255, 256, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 272
Mæcenas, 31
Magellan, 134
Mágico prodigioso, El, 153
Magna Carta, 52
Mahoma Rabadán, 101
Maja desnuda, La (of Blasco Ibáñez), 172
'Maja desnuda, La' (of Goya), 207
'Maja vestida, La' (of Goya), 207
mal du siècle, v. desengaño
Málaga, 30, 39, 228, 229
Mallorca, 48, 60, 107
Malón de Chaide, Pedro, 132
Malplaquet, 69
Malta, 64, 166
Mambrino's helmet, 27
Mancha, La, 67
Mancomunidad (of Catalonia), 261, 262, **264**
Mandeville, 51, 118
Manfred, King of Sicily, 51
Manresa, Bases de, 262
Manrique, Bishop, 226
Manrique, Gómez, 113, 114
Manrique, Jorge, 113, 114
Mansions, v. Moradas
Mantua, Marquis of, 145
Manuel I of Portugal ('the Fortunate'), 125, 147
Maragall, Joan, 182
Marca hispanica, 8
March, Ausiàs, Pere and Jacme, 110
Marchena, José, 163
Marcos, Monastery of San (León), 228
Marcos de Obregón, 143
Marcus Aurelius, 31, 129
Marcus Porcius Latro, 31
Mare Nostrum, 172
Margaret of Austria, consort of Philip III, 67
Margarita Teresa of Spain, 203
Margen de los Clásicos, Al, 181
Margot, 177
Mari-Hernández la Gallega, 151
María, daughter of the Cid, 45
María de Melque, Santa, 211, 212
María Cristina of Naples, consort of Ferdinand VII, 80, 81
María Cristina of Austria, consort of Alfonso XII, 85, 86, 251

María Egipciaca, Santa, 101
María Luisa, consort of Charles IV, 74
María Teresa, daughter of Philip IV and consort of Louis XIV of France, 68
Mariana, Juan de, 18, 26, 124, **136–7**
Mariana of Austria, consort of Philip IV, 68
Marie Louise, consort of Philip V, 69, 70, 71
Marina, General, 254
Marlborough, Duke of, 69
Márquez, Colonel, 259
Marquina, Eduardo, 178, **179**
Marranos, 53
Marta y María, 171
Martial, 12, 20, 32
Martin, King of Aragon and Sicily, 52, 108
Martínez, Fernán, 105
Martínez Anido, General, 275
Martínez de la Rosa, Francisco, 80, 166
Martínez de Toledo, Alfonso, 118
Martínez Olmedilla, Augusto, 175
Martínez Ruiz, José, 181
Martínez Sierra, Gregorio, 176–7
Martini, Simone, 188, 192
Martorell, Pere, 108
Mary, Blessed Virgin, 97, 138, 226
Mary I of England, 63, 124
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, 65, 138
Mas, José, 175
Masséna, 77
Massenet, 250
Mata, Pedro, 175
Matamoros, García, 124
Mateo, Master, 218
Matos Fragoso, Juan de, 128, 155
Maura, Antonio, 252, 253, 255, 257, 258, 260, 263, 268, 275, 276, 277
'Maurice, St.' (of El Greco), 195
Maximilian, Holy Roman Emperor, 60
Maximus, 33
Mayans, Gregorio, 156
Mazo Martínez, Juan Bautista del, 205
Mazote, San Cebrián de, 216
Mecca, 213, 214
Médico de su Honra, El, 154
Medina, 213
Medinaceli, 95
Medina-Sidonia, Duke of, 65
Mediterranean, 190, 216, 226, 261
Meendinho, 97
Mekong, 139
Melchor de Jovellanos, Gaspar, 161
Meléndez Valdés, Juan, 160, 161, 162
Melilla, 73, 253, 254, 255, 267
Melindres de Belisa, Los, 150
Melo, Francisco Manuel de, 128, 137
'Melon Eaters' (of Murillo), 204
Memlinc, 193
Memorial de Diversas Hazañas, 116
Memorias de un hombre de acción, 173
Mena, Juan de, **113–4**, 127
Mendes Pinto, Fernão, 135–6
Mendizábal, 80
Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, 15, 41, 169, 268
Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino, 119, 169, 258, 268
Menezes, 116
Menina e Moça, 141
'Meninas, Las,' 203
Menorca, 69, 72
Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea, 129
Menteur, Le, 152
Mentone, 172
Mercadante, Lorenzo, 226
Mercantile Marine of Spain, 268
Mérida, 210, 213
Merino, 81
merinos, 54
Mesa, Enrique de, 179
Mescua, Antonio Mira de, 150
Mesonero Romanos, Ramón de, 168
Mesta, 54
mester de clerecía, 93
mester de juglaría, 92
Metge, Bernat, 109, 110
Mexico, 62, 134, 137, 141, 182
Michael, St., 188, 191
Michelangelo, 201, 231
Miguel the Florentine, 231
mihrāb, 213, 214, 220
Milá y Fontanals (Milà i Fontanals), Manuel, 119, 129, **169**, 182
Milan, 60, 195, 222, 225, 229
Millán, Pedro, 226
Millán, San, 7, 100, 216
millones, 68, 73
Milton, 240
Mira de Mescua, Antonio, 150
Miracles of Our Lady, 100
Miraflores, Cartuja de (Burgos), 226
Miró, Gabriel, 174
Mississippi, 135
Mocedades del Cid, Las, 95, 151
Moderados, 80, 81, 82
Molière, 152, 159
Molinos, Miguel de, 155
Moluccas, 135
Monarchia Lusitana, 137
Moncada, Francisco de, 137
Mondoñedo, Bishop of (Antonio de Guevara), 129
Montalbán, *v.* Pérez
Montalvo, Garci Rodríguez de, 140
Montañés, Martínez, 203
Montem(ay)or, Jorge de, 141, 142

Montero Ríos, Eugenio, 252, 257, 270
Montesquieu, 161
Montezuma, 25
Montiano, Agustín de, 156, 158
Montpellier, 199
Moore, Sir John, 76
Moorish architecture in Spain, **212–15, 219–21,** 222, 224, 227, 228
Moorish music, 242
Moorish novel in Spain, 142
Moors: their occupation of Spain, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 17, 23, 32, **35–57,** 60, 88, 91, 94, 210, 211, 213; —, conversion of, 107; —, persecution of, 56, 59, 67; —, piracy of, 67, 73; —, rebellion of, **63–4,** 137
Mor, Antony, 194
Mora, José Joaquín de, 164
Moradas, Las, 130–1
Moraes, Francisco de, 141
Morales, Ambrosio de, 18, 136
Morales, Luis de, 194
Moratín, *v.* Fernández
More, 124
Morea, 108
Morena, Sierra, 2, 29
Moret, Segismundo, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257
Moreto, Agustín, 154, 155, 157
Moriscos, 35, 56, 59, 63, 64, 66, 67, 122
Morley, Daniel, 91
Moro Expósito, El, 166
Morocco, 44, 83, 85, 117, 132, 253, 254, 261, 262, 264, 265, 271, 274, 275, 276
Mortera, Conde de la, 254
Motamid, 44
Mozambique, 139
Mozarabic architecture, 216–7
Mozarabic rites, 14, 37
Mozarabs (Mozárabes), 11, 16, 37, 39, 88, 89, 90
Mozart, 240
Mudarra, 94
mudéjares, 53
Mudo, El, 195
Muertos mandan, Los, 172
Muhammadans, *v.* Arabs, Moors
Mühlberg, 61
muladies, 37
Munich, 204
Muntaner, Ramón, 108, 109, 115, 137
Múñoz Seca, Pedro, 178
Murat, 76
Murcia, 39, 46, 48, 67, 230
Muret, 48, 96, 107
Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban, 24, 122, **204–5**
Murviedro, 30, 45
Mūsā, 36
Muslim, *v.* Moors
Musset, Alfred de, 167
mystics, Portuguese, 132–3; —, Spanish, 123, **128–32**

Nador, 255
Nahum, 133
Nájera, 50, 112
Nakens, 259
Names of Christ, 132
Nanking, 136
Naples, 8, 57, 59, 61, 65, 68, 69, 71, 72, 80, 113, 125, 144, 195, 197
Napoleon Bonaparte, 75, 76, 255
Naranco, 215, 216
Narbonne, 223
Narciso en su opinión, 151
Narváez, Ramón María, 82, 83
Nasarre, Blas Antonio, 158
National Assembly (of Spain), 277
National Gallery, London, 199, 200, 202, 204
National Library (of Spain), 155, 166
Naturalism in Spanish literature, 172, 173
Navarre, 7, 40, 41, 42, 66, 81, 88, 223, 224, 226, 247
Navarre, Henry of, *v.* Henry IV of France
Navarro, General, 255
Navas de Tolosa, Las, 44, 46, 47
Nebrija, Antonio de, 11, 113, 114, 121, **123,** 136
Nervo, Amado, 182
Netherlands, wars in the, 64, 66, 67, 68
Nevada, Sierra, 2, 34
Nicaragua, 178
Nicea, Council of, 33
Nicholls, Bertram, 208
Nîmes, 210
Niño, Pedro, 115
'Niño de Vallecas' (of Velázquez), 202
No puede ser, 154
Nobel Prize, 174, 175
Noche del Sábado, La, 176
Noche Oscura, v. Dark Night
Noches lúgubres, 161
Nogués, 250
Nombres de Cristo, 132
Normans, 216, 217
Noroña, Conde de, 163
Novel, *v.* Fiction
Novelas Ejemplares, 145, 146
Novelas Ejemplares y Amorosas, 144
Nuestro Padre San Daniel, 174
Numancia (of Cervantes), 145
Numantia, 31
Nunes, Airas, 96, 97
Núñez, Francisco de P., 163
Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Álvaro, 135

Núñez de Arce, Gaspar, 168, 178
Núñez de Balboa, Vasco, 60, 134

O Locura o santidad, 175
Ocampo, Florián de, 104, 136
Ocaña, 76, 77
Ochoa, Eugenio de, 165, 170
Oda a la Patria, 182
O'Donnell, Leopoldo, 82, 83, 84
Old Spain, 181
Olivares, Count (Conde-Duque de), 67, 68, 202
Omar ibn Hafsun, 89
Ommeyad dynasty, 37
opera buffa, 240
Oran, 119
Orbigo, 116
Orders, military, **46–7**, 56; —, religious, 82, 122, 136, 255, 256, 266, 270; *v.* also under titles of separate Orders
Ordóñez, Bartolomé, 231
Ordóñez, García, 45
Ordoño II, 11
Oretana Mountains, 29
'Orgaz, Burial of the Conde de' (of El Greco), 195
Oria, San, 100
Orient, Libre dels tres reys d', 99, 101
Orientales, 94
Orígenes de la lengua castellana, 156
Orígenes de la poesía castellana, 157
Orleans Twelfth Night play, 99
Orosius, 12
Ors, Eugenio d', 181
Ortega y Gasset, José, 181
Ossian, 165
Ossorio y Gallardo, Ángel, 259
Ostade, Van, 205
Oudenarde, 69
Ovid, 31, 128, 138, 156
Oviedo, 6, 11, 39, 40, 41, 45, 215, 216

Pacheco, 200
Pacific Ocean, 60
Padrón, Rodríguez del, 117
Palacio Triste, El, 177
Palacio Valdés, Armando, 171
Palafox, 76
Palencia, 211, 212
Palencia, Alfonso de, 116
Palestine, 48, 75
Palha, 95
Palmeirin de Inglaterra, 141
Palmerin romances, 141
Paloma, La, 235
Palos, 60
Pamplona, 224
Panamá, 60
Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan, 194
Paraguay, 135
Paraná, 135
Pardo Bazán, Emilia, 171, 174
Paredes oyen, Las, 152
Paris, 75, 221, 237, 247, 270, 272, 275
Parma, 71
Parnasillo, 165
Parnaso, 146
Pasado, El, 173
paso, 158
Paso honroso, Libro del, 116
Pastor Díaz, Nicomedes, 168
pastoral romance, 141
pastorela, 111
Patriotic Union Party, 277
Patronio, 106
Paul's, St. (London), 212
Paular, Santa María del, 179
Pavia, 60, 61
Payne, Robert, 117
Pazos de Ulloa, Los, 171
Pedralbes, Convent of, 187
Pedrell, Felipe, 235, 236, 238
Pedro, *v.* Peter
Pedro Alfonso, 91
Pedro, Count of Barcellos, 97, 103, 106
Pedro de la Nave, San, 211, 212, 213
Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, 118
Pedro Sánchez, 170
Peking, 136
Pelayo, 31, 39
Pensador, El, 158
Pensamiento de Cervantes, El, 144
Peñalba, 216, 217
Pepita Jiménez, 170
Pequeñeces, 171
Pereda, José María de, 170–1
Pereira, Nuno Álvares, 115
Pérez de Ayala, Ramón, 173
Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán, 113, 115, 116
Pérez de Hita, Ginés, 142
Pérez de Montalbán, Juan, 150
Pérez de Oliva, Hernán, 18, 19, **124**
Pérez Galdós, Benito, **171**, 175, 255
Pérez Lugín, Alejandro, 175
Perfecta Casada, La, 132
Peribáñez, 150
Pericles of Tyre, 100
Perpignan, 188
Perro del Hortelano, El, 150
Persia, 91
Persian music, 242
Persiles y Segismunda, 141, 144
Peru, 62, 73, 83, 135, 182
Peter I of Castile (Pedro el Cruel), 50, 112, 114, 115, 120, 153
Peter II of Aragon, 44, 47, 48
Peter III of Aragon (' el Grande '), 48, 51, 108

Peter IV of Aragon (' el Ceremonioso '), 50, 52, 108, 109, 114
Peter I of Portugal, 115
Peter, Constable of Portugal, 113
Peter's, St. (Rome), 212
Petimetra, La, 158
Petrarch, 109, 110
Petronilla of Aragon, 47
Philip I of Castile, 60 n.
Philip II of Spain, 24, 47, **63–6**, 74, 123, 128, 137, 194, 195, 229
Philip III of Spain, **66–7**, 128
Philip IV of Spain, **67–8**, 128, 200, 201
Philip V of Spain, **69–71**, 128, 155
Philip, son of Isabel Farnese, 71
Philip of Burgundy, 230
Philip Neri, St., 256
Philippine Islands, 86
Phocians, 30
Phœnicians, 2, 30
Pi y Margall, Francisco, 84, 252
Piacenza, 71
Picara Justina, La, 143
picaresque novel, 143–4
Picasso, Pablo, 268
Picón, Jacinto Octavio, 171
Picts, 32
Piferrer, Pau, 182
Pilar, Virgen del (Zaragoza), 226
Pina, Ruy de, 117
Pindar, 127
Pinto, Frey Heitor, 132
Pintor de su Deshonra, El, 154
Pío Cid, Los Trabajos del . . ., 180
Pisani, Francesco, 231
Pisuerga, 11
' Pitillas, Jorge,' 157
Pizarro, Francisco, 62
Plateresque architecture, 223, 227, 228
Platero y yo, 180
Plato, 124, 126
Plautus, 18
Pliny, 32
Plymouth, 65
Poblet, 221
Poemas mágicos y dolientes, 180
Poética, v. Luzán
Polavieja, General, 262, 263
Polifemo, 127, 128
poll-tax, 37
Polo, Gil, 141
Pomponius Mela, 31
Pont du Gard, 210, 211
Ponte, Pedro da, 97
Por las nubes, 176
Pórtico de la Gloria (Santiago de Compostela), 218, 219, 225
Porto Rico, 83, 86
Portugal, 2, 5, 44, 46, 49, 51, 57, 62, 68, 69, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 83, 97, 98, 105, 107, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 122, 140, 252, 253, 257; union of Spain with —, 64, 65, 67, 68
Portuguese colonization, 134, 135, 136, 137; — language, 6, 96, 103, 121; — literature, 103, 106, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 124, 125, 126, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148
Pou, Bernat de, 187
Pouishnoff, 247 n.
Pradilla, Francisco, 208
Prado, Museo del (Madrid), 194, 197, 202
Prat de la Riba, Enric, 261, 264
Preludios de mi lira, 164
Prescott, 137
Prester John, 135
Prim, Juan, Conde de Reus, 83
Primavera y Flor de Romances, 119
Primera Crónica General, v. Crónica
Primo de Rivera, Miguel, 254, 273, **274–5**, 276
' Prince of the Peace,' 75
Princes' Watch, *v.* Reloj
Princess, The, 241
Príncipe, Café del (Madrid), 165
Príncipe constante, El, 153
Priscillian, 33
Procuradores, 55
Propalladia, 147
Protestantism, 61, 65, 69, 123
Provençal language and literature, 6, 8, 16, 90, 97, 98, 110, 111
Provence, 60, 61, 90, 92, 95, 96
Proverbs, Book of, 20
Prudencia en la Mujer, La, 152
Prudentius, 33
Prussia, 78, 81
Psalms, Book of, 132; Spanish translation of —, 91
pseudo-Turpin, *v.* Turpin
Puerta del Sol (Toledo), 215
Puerta Visagra (Toledo), 215
Pulgar, Hernando del, 115, 116
Punic War, First, 30
Púrpura de la Rosa, 154
Pyrenees, 2, 5, 8, 14, 16, 29, 36, 59, 90, 91, 94; Treaty of the —, 68

Quadrado, Josep Maria, 182
Quadruple Alliance, 70
Quentin, Battle of St., 63
Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco Gómez de, 19, 20, 127, **133, 143,** 144, 155
Quintana, Manuel José, **161–2**
Quinteros, the (Serafín and Joaquín Álvarez Quintero), 177
Quintilian, 20, 32

Rabelais, 111
Rachmaninoff, 248
Ramillies, 69
Ramiro I of Asturias and León, 216
Ramiro II of León, 41
Ramiro II of Aragon, 47
Ramon Berenguer III, 45
Ramon Berenguer IV, 47
Ramón y Cajal, Santiago, 268
Raphael, 193, 201
Raquel and Vidas, 24
Ravel, 234, 238, 249
Raza, La, 173
realism in Spanish character, 24; — in Spanish literature, 111, 142, 143, 170, 173, 174; *v.* also naturalism
Reccared, 33, 34
Reccaswinth, 35
Recopilación, Novísima, 73 n.
Regenta, La, 171
regionalism in Spain, 29
Reinar después de morir, 150
Reino de Dios, El, 177
Reinoso, Félix José, 162
Reloj de Príncipes, El, 129
Renaissance architecture, 188; — and sculpture in Spain, 226–31
Renaissance in Europe, 109; — in Spain, 22, 102, 104, 105, 122 n., 188, 189; —, literature of Spanish, 110–22
renegados, 37
Republic of 1873, 84
Requeséns, Luis de, 64
Residencia de Estudiantes (Madrid), 270
Retines, Robert of, 91
Revolución de Laiño, La, 175
Revolution, French, 74; — of 1830, 79
Rey abajo, ninguno, Del, 22, **153**
Rey Soto, Antonio, 178
Rèzende, Cancioneiro de, 113, 117
Rheims, 91, 222
Rhodians, 30
Riaño, Diego de, 227
Ribalta, Francisco de, 197
Ribeiro, Bernardim, 126, 141
Ribera, Jusepe (or José) de, **197–8**, 204
Riego, Rafael, 78, 79
Riff, 255, 270
Rimado de Palacio, 112
Rinconete y Cortadillo, 145
Río Tinto, 5
Rioja, La, 99, 100
Rivas, *v.* Saavedra
Rivas y Larra (of 'Azorín'), 181
Rivoira, 211, 212, 215
Roberts, David, 208
Roboan, 105
Rocroi, 67, 123
Roderic, last of the Goths, 36, 39, 89, 93, 104, 117, 120, 137
Rodil, 81
Rodó, José Enrique, 182
Rodrigo, *v.* Roderic
Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, 91, 136
Rodríguez Lobo, 128
Rodríguez Marín, Francisco, 169
Roelas, Juan de las, 198
Roi Soleil, *v.* Louis XIV
Roig, Jaume, 110, 118
Rojas, Fernando de, 142
Rojas Zorrilla, Francisco de, 22, 153, 155, 157
Roland, 40, 91
Roldán, Francisco de P., 163
Roman architecture in Spain, 210, 211, 226
Romancero, **118–22**, 151, 167, 179; *v.* also Durán
Romanesque architecture and sculpture in Spain, **217–9**, 221, 224
Romanones, Count, 257, 258, 259, 260, 264, 277
Romans in Spain, 1, 5, 8, 12, 16, 19, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 40
'Romantic Spain,' 1
Romantic Young Lady, The, 177
Romanticism, Spanish, 9, 120, 144, 153, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, **163–8**, 169, 170, 175, 176, 178, 179; —, nature of, 163
Rome, 48, 61, 73, 82, 133, 134, 195, 206
Roncesvalles, 2, 37, 40, 93, 94
Rosas, 30
Roumanian language, 32
Roussillon, 59, 67, 68
Rubens, 201
Rubeo, Bartolommeo, *v.* Bermejo
Rubí, Duke of, 254
Rubió i Lluch, Antonio, 182
Rubió i Ors, Joaquim, 182
Rueda, Lope de, 148, 177
Ruiz, Juan, 99, 103, **111**, 142
Ruiz de Alarcón, Juan, 151, **152**, 158
Russia, 78, 81, 266
Russian music, 235–6
Ruy Velázquez, 94

Sá de Miranda, Francisco de, 125, 126
Saavedra, Ángel de, **166**, 168, 170
Sacchetti, 230
Sagasta, 84, 85, 86, 252, 256
Saguntum, 30, 31
sainete, 158, 159, 177
Saint-Saëns, 250
Salado, Battle of, 106
Salamanca, 47, 103, 123, 126, 127, 132, 143, 160, 180, 192, 193, 210, 219, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230; —, battle of, 77, 78

Salamancan School (of literature), **160–1**, 162, 163
Salas, *v.* Lara
Salas Barbadillo, 144
Salas y Quiroga, 165
Salic Law, 80
Salinas, Pedro, 180
Sallust, 137
Salmerón, Nícolás, 252
Salonica, 119
Samaniego, Félix María, 160
Samarkand, 51, 116
Sánchez, Antonio and Diego, 193
Sánchez, Tomás Antonio, 163
Sánchez Coello, Alonso, 194
Sánchez de las Brozas, Francisco, 123
Sánchez de Toca, 260
Sánchez de Tovar, Fernán, 105
Sánchez de Vercial, Clemente, 117
Sánchez Guerra, 260
Sancho II of Castile (' the Strong '), 45, 95
Sancho III of Castile, 47
Sancho IV of Castile (' the Brave '), 50, 102, 104
Sancho III of Navarre (' the Great '), 17, 41
Sancho VII of Navarre, 44
Sancho, great-uncle of James I of Aragon, 48
Sancho Panza, 20, 24, 27, 105, 145, 146, 261
sangre limpia, 1, 6
Sangre y Arena, 172
Sanjurjo, General, 275
San Pedro, Diego de, 117
San Sebastián, 83, 230, 239, 256
San Sebastián, Fonda de, 158
Santa Catalina, 193
Santa María, *v.* García de Santa María
Santander, viii, 170, 171, 174, 216
Santas Creus, 221
Santiago, Order of, 22, 47
Santiago de Compostela, 3, 6, 17, 40, 90, 91, 97, 217, 218, 219, 221, 225, 230
Santillana, 174
Santillana, Marquis of, 6, 113, 114, 125, 129
Santos Chocano, José, 182
Santullano, 215
Saracenic architecture, *v.* Moorish
Saragossa, *v.* Zaragoza
Saragossa, Lorenzo, 188
Sarasate, 237
Sardinia, 8, 52, 190
Sarmientos, Martín, 164
' Saturn devouring his children ' (of Goya), 207
saudade, 126, 141
Savoy, 67, 69, 83
Saxony, 240
Schubert, 240, 242
Schumann, 240, 248
Scipio Africanus, 31
Scot, Michæl, 91
Scott, Sir Walter, 165, 167, 169, 170, 175
Scribe, 167
Sebastian, King of Portugal, 64
Secreto agravio, secreta venganza, A, 154
Segóbriga, 211, 212
Segovia, 210, 211, 224, 225, 228, 266, 276
Segovia, Gonzalo of, 91
Seises (of Seville), 243
Sem Tob, Rabbi, 112
Semanario patriótico, 162
Senecas, the, 12, 20, 23, 31, 118
Sentimiento Trágico de la Vida, El, 180
Señor de Bembibre, El, 167
Señora Cornelia, La, 6
sermo rusticus, 15
Serra, Jaume and Pere, 188
Serrana de la Vera, La, 150
serranilhas, 98, 113
Sertorius, 7, 31
Seven Years War, 72
Sevilian School (of literature), 162, 163
Seville, 10, 20, 30, 34, 39, 44, 45, 46, 62, 77, 78, 83, 90, 97, 162, 175, 178, 193, 198, 201, 204, 205, 210, 215, 219, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 243, 247; —, Alcázar of, 219–20; John of, 91; painting of, 193, 197, 200
Shakespeare, 19, 100, 149, 150, 171, 175, 179
Shelley, 153
Sheridan, 240
Sí de las Niñas, El, 159
Siam, 136
Sibelius, 234
Sicilian Vespers, 52
Sicilies, Two, 71
Sicily, 8, 31, 51, 52
Sidi-Dris, 255
Sidney, Sir Philip, 179
Siena, 188
Sienese painting, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193
Sierra Leone, 116
Sierra Morena, 2, 29
Sierra Nevada, 2, 3, 4
Siervo libre del Amor, El, 117
Siete Partidas, 6, 103, 106
Siger of Brabant, 107
siglo de oro, *v.* Golden Age
Sigüenza, 221, 230
Silencio de la Cartuja, El, 179

Siloe, Diego de, 228
Siloe, Gil de, 226
Silos, 90, 100
Silva y Velázquez, Diego Rodrigo de, *v.* Velázquez
Silvela, Francisco, 252
Silvestre, General, 255
Simon de Montfort, 48
Sindibâd, 104
socialism in Spain, 85
Soledad sonora, La, 180
Soledades (of Góngora), 127–8
Soledades, Galerías y otros poemas, 179
Solidaridad Catalana, 263
Solingen, 272
Solís, Antonio de (as historian), 137; (as dramatist), 155, 157
'Solitario, El,' 168
Somatenes, 275
Sombrero de tres picos, 170
Somni, El, 109
Sonatas (of Valle-Inclán), 173
Sonetos espirituales, 180
Song of Solomon, 132
Sorolla, Joaquín, 208, 268
Sotileza, 170
Soult, 77
South America, dialects of, 10; —, republics of, 265, 272
Southey, 115, 165
Spain, climate of, **2–4**, 269; —, colonial administration and history of, 62, 72, 73, 76, 78, 83, 135, 142; —, education in, 268, 269, 272; —, finances of, 267, 270, 271, 272, 273; —, future of, 27, 28, 278, 279; —, geography of, **2–5**, 29; —, government of, 23, 52, 56, 68, 73, 77, 84, 251–79; —, political divisions of, 5; —, products of, 3–5, 266, 267, 268, 272, 276; —, social condition of: (16th century), 66; (17th century), 68; (18th century), 70, 71, 72, 73; (19th century), 79, 85; (20th century), 251–79
Spanish America, *v.* America, Indies, South America
Spanish-American literature, 169, **181–2**
Spanish character, 1, 20, 27, 29, 268, 269, 274; — language, **11–20**, 31, 41; — law, 103; — monarchy, 278; — Succession, War of the, 69; American Association of Teachers of —, vii
Spanish studies, progress of, vii–viii
Spiritual Canticle, 131
sport in Spain, 18, 276, 277
Straparola, 143
Stravinsky, 250
Street, 222, 225
strikes in Spain, 253, 258
Stúñiga, Lope de, 113
Suárez, Francisco, 124
Subida, v. Ascent
Sueño de una noche de agosto, 177
Sueños (of Quevedo), 133, 144
Suero de Quiñones, 116
Suevians, 32, 133
Sumatra, 136
'Sunny Spain,' 1
'Swing, The' (of Goya), 206
Switzerland, 2
Syria, 91, 212, 216
Syrians, 37

Tacitus, 137
Tafur, Pedro, 116, 118
Tagus, 2, 3, 77, 89, 128, 210, 265
taifa states, 44
Tajo, *v.* Tagus
Talavera, 77, 111; —, Archpriest of, 118, 142
Talmud, 112
Tamayo y Baus, Manuel, 175
Tamburlane, 51, 116
Tangier, 254, 257, 273, 278
Tapia, 127
Tarífa, 36
Tarifa, 36, 50
Târik, 36, 88, 213
Tarragona, 68, 219, 221, 226, 264
Tarrasa, 211, 213
Tarshish, 30
Tarsiana, 101
Tartessus, 30
Tasso, 138
Teatro crítico universal, 156
Teatro español, 158
Telesio, 145
Téllez, Gabriel, *v.* 'Tirso de Molina'
Téllez de Meneses, Los, 150
Templars' Church, Zamora, 219
Temple, Order of the, 46, 48
Teneriffe, 59
tercias reales, 53, 56
Terence, 142, 150
Teresa, St., 24, **130–1**
Teresa, sister of Queen Urraca, 46
Terror, Reign of (in France), 74
terza rima, 149
Tetuan, 267
Tetuán, Duque de, *v.* O'Donnell
Theotocopouli, Domenico, *v.* Greco, El
Third International, 259
Thirty Years War, 67, 68
Tibaldi, 229
Ticknor, vii
Tigrida, 105
'Tinoso, El' (of Murillo), 204

Tintoretto, 202
Tioda the Goth, 215
Tirant lo Blanc, 108
'Tirso de Molina,' 124, 143, **151–2**, 153, 158
Titian, 194, 195, 202
Tizona, La, 178
Toldrá, Eduard, 239
Toledo, 14, 16, 22, 27, 36, 38, 43, 45, 57, 90, 91, 104, 136, 193, 195, 210, 211, 212, 217, 221, 222, 223, 224, 227, 229, 230, 256, 266, 272
Toledo, Third Council of, 33; —, Fourth Council of, 34
Toledo, Juan de, 229
'Toledo, School of,' 92
Tomé de Jesús, 132
Toreno, Conde de, 80
Tormes, River, 132
Toro, 219
Torquemada, Tomás de, 56 n.
Torre, Alfonso de la, 118
Torres Naharro, Bartolomé de, 147
Torres Vedras, 77
Torres Villarroel, Diego de, 156, 159
Torrigiano, Pietro, 231
Torrijos, 79
Torroella, 110
Toulouse, 46, 48, 96, 218, 219
Tours, 36, 218
Trabajos de Urbano y Simona, 174
Trabalhos de Jesús, Os, 132
Trafalgar, 75, 162
Trajan, 31, 210
Trancoso, 143
Trastamara, Count Henry of, *v.* Henry II of Castile
Trastamara dynasty, 115
Trato de Argel, El, 145
Trent, Council of, 61, 123, 145
Trescientas, Las, 114
Trigo, Felipe, 173
Tripoli, 59
Tristan, 104, 140
Triunfos de Sagramor, 139
Trojan Chronicle, 106
Trotaconventos, 111
Troubadours, 8, 39, 90, 92, 95, 96, 117
Trovador, El, 166
Tubal, 103
Tunis, 61, 64, 109
Turina, Joaquín, 249
Turks, 61, 64
Turmeda, Anselm, 109
Turner, J. M. W., 186
Turpin, Archbishop, 91, 92
Tuy, 91, 101
Tyre, William of, 104
Tyrone, Earl of, 66
Ukhaidir, 213
Ultramar, Grand Conquista de, 104
Umbria, 190
Unamuno, Miguel de, 21, 23, 27, **180–1**, 258, 270
Unió Catalanista, 262, 263
Unió Federalista Nacionalista, 263
Unió Regionalista, 263
Unión General de Trabajadores, 259
United States of America, 72, 85, 86, 251, 252, 262
Unities, 25, 157, 158, 167
Urraca, Queen of Castile and León, 46
Ursins, Princesse des, 70
Uruguay, 182
Usandizaga, José María, 239
Usque, Samuel, 133
Utopia, 135
Utrecht, 70
Val de Dios, 216
Valdés, Juan de, 17, 129, 156
Valdés Leal, Juan de, 206
Valdivia, Pedro de, 62
Valencia, 9, 39, 45, 48, 53, 55, 60, 67, 69, 95, 107, 110, 119, 124, 141, 172, 188, 189, 193, 197, 229, 230, 257, 267
Valencian School (of painting), 188
Valera, Diego de, 116
Valera, Juan, 170, 171
Valladolid, 66, 227, 229, 230
Valle, Anselmo G. del, 239, 250
Valle-Inclán, Ramón María de, 173, 178
Valles, Lorenzo, 208
Vandals, 32, 33
Vapor, El, 182
Vargas, Luis de, 193, 198
Vargas Ponce, José de, 163
Vasco da Gama, *v.* Gama
Vásquez de Arce, Martín, 230
Vatican, 256
Vatican Palace, 98
Vega, Ricardo de la, 177
Vega, Ventura de la, 165, **167**
Vega Armijo, Marqués de, 252
Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de, 19, 25, 119, 120, 122 n., 127, 138, 143, **148–50**, 151, 152, 153, 154, 157, 158, 167, 169
Vega Inclán, Marqués de, 277
Vegetius, 115
Velázquez (Diego Rodrigo de Silva y), 68, 145, 187, 198, **200–4**, 205, 206, 207, 208
Velázquez, Luis Josef, 157, 158
Vélez de Guevara, Luis, **144**, 150
Velho, Álvaro, 134
Venetian painting, 194, 195, 202
Venice, 124, 195

Ventura de la Vega, *v.* Vega
'Venus' (of Velázquez), 203
Verdad sospechosa, La, 152
Verdaguer, Jacinto, 182
Vergil, 113, 138, 146, 156
Vergonzoso en Palacio, El, 152
vernacular, use of the, 9, 18, 123
Versos de las horas, 180
Vetula, De, 111
Veu, La, 263
Viana, Prince of, 114
Vicente, Gil, 97, 126, **147**, 148
Victoria, Queen, consort of Alfonso XIII, 269
Victoria and Albert Museum, 189, 218
Vida, Jerome, 138
Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, 181
Vida es Sueño, La, 26, 27, **153**
Vida fantástica, La, 173
Vidas de españoles célebres, 162
Viejo y la Niña, El, 159
Vienna, 272
Vigarni, Felipe de, 230
Vigo, 97, 98, 267
Villaespesa, Francisco de, 178
Villalar, 60, 62
Villamediana, 128
villancico, 96
Villar, 239
Villaverde, 251, 252, 270
Villaviciosa, 215
Villegas, Antonio de, 142
Villena, Enrique de, 114
Vincent de Paul, St., 256
Vincent Ferrer, St., 109, 113
Vinci, Leonardo da, 193
Virginia, 156
Viriatus, 31
Virtuous Love, Book of, 111
Visigothic architecture in Spain, **211–13**, 215, 216, 217
Visigothic rule in Spain, 11, 13, 14, 16, **33–5**, 37, 88, 89, 91, 92, 103, 117, 210
Visión delectable, 118
Visita del Sol, La, 180
Vita beata, Libro de, 118
Vitoria, 77
Vitoria, Francisco de, 124
Vitorial, El, 115
Vitruvius, 229
Vives, Juan Luis, 124, 156
Vizirs, 38

Wagner, 240
walis, 38
War, Great, vii, 172, 250, 255, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 270
Weber, 240
Wellesley, Sir Arthur (later Duke of Wellington), 77, 201, 207
Wernher Museum, 191
Westminster Abbey (London), 222, 224, 225, 231
Weyden, Rogier van der, 193
Weyler, General, 254
White Companies, 50
Wilson, President, 264
Witiza, 35
Wolf, 119
Wordsworth, 128, 240
Wren, Christopher, 212

Xavier, *v.* Francis
Ximénez de Cisneros, *v.* Cisneros

Yale University, vii
Yáñez de la Almedina, Hernando, 193
Yepes, *v.* Juan de la Cruz, San
Yradier, 235
Yuste, 63
Yusuf (Almoravide leader), 44
Yusuf, Alhadiz de, v. Joseph, Poem of

Zamora, 95, 104, 211, 219, 277
Zapatero y el Rey, El, 167
Zaragoza, 31, 37, 40, 42, 45, 76, 119, 206, 210, 215, 226, 227, 228, 230, 247, 274, 276
zarzuela, 177, 236
Zayas y Sotomayor, María de, 144
Zea Bermúdez, Francisco, 80
Zecharia, 133
Zeluan, 255
Zorrilla, José, **166–7**, 168
Zorro, João, 97
Zuloaga, Ignacio, 208, 268
Zumalacárregui, Tomás, 81
Zurara, *v.* Eanes
Zurbarán, Francisco, **198–9**, 200
Zurita, Jerónimo, 136

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